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*Sr Walter Parker*
Baronet of Ratton.

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THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

## *WORKS of the LEARNED,*

FOR THE

Year One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Forty.

CONTAINING

IMPARTIAL ACCOUNTS and ACCURATE ABSTRACTS of the moſt valuable Books publiſhed in *Great-Britain* and Foreign Parts.

INTERSPERS'D WITH

DISSERTATIONS on ſeveral curious and entertaining Subjects, Critical Reflections, and Memoirs of the moſt eminent Writers in all Branches of polite Literature.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE *WORKS of the LEARNED.*

## *For* JULY, 1740.

### ARTICLE I.

IN the *History of the Works of the Learned*, for *January* this Year, I printed an anonymous Letter, containing Corrections of some supposed Errors in a late Edition of *Gorboduc*. I was then utterly unacquainted with my Correspondent; but in a later Epistle he has been pleased to inform me of his Name and Character, and I can now tell the Public, that we are indebted for those, as well as the following Remarks, to the Reverend Mr. *Calton*, of *Marton*, near *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*. There is a Circumstance, of which it is necessary I should take notice, in order to the Reader's understanding the Introduction of the ensuing Animadversions: And this is, that an Alteration was made in the Beginning of Mr. *Calton*'s first Paper, published in *January*, before I sent it to the Press. That an Alteration was made,



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was ſo far from diſpleaſing Mr. *Calton*, that he thanked me on account of it: But he was not ſo well ſatisfied with the manner of it; thinking, that what was inſerted, inſtead of ſome Words that it was judged proper to omit, rendered that Period a ſeeming Contradiction; as he ſignified to me in a Letter of *March* the 22d, 1739-40. I have already apologized to Mr. *Calton* upon this Head, and the Reader has no further Concern with the Matter, than to know the Fact, that ſo he may, as I ſaid, underſtand the firſt Paragraph of the enſuing Criticiſm. I did not make the Alteration here ſpoken of, but I was the Cauſe of its being made; and if any thing in it were amiſs, the Cenſure ought to reſt upon me, who ſhould have taken notice of, and amended it, when I reviſed the Proof of that Article. I have only this to offer in Extenuation of my Neglect, that as neceſſary Avocations ſometimes leave me not at leiſure for inſpecting Things of this Nature with all the Care I might otherwiſe employ, ſo, in the preſent Caſe, I had all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that little or nothing of that kind was requiſite on my Part.

## *To the* AUTHOR *of the* WORKS *of the* LEARNED.

*SIR,*

WHilſt I am endeavouring to clear the *Production of another Man* from the Corruptions of Scribes and Printers, you'll allow me, I hope, to have ſome critical Charity in reſerve for what I have a nearer Intereſt in, *my own*. There is ſomething in the Beginning of my late printed Letter to you, which I cannot own to be mine. It was hard upon me, to make me ſay, that *I was aſſured of the corrupt State of the Copy*, from which this Edition of *Gorboduc* was taken, when I had immedi-

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immediately before declared myſelf entirely at a loſs where to charge the Errors of the Edition, whether upon the Copy or the Printer: I doubt, moſt People that read this, will take it to be a Contradiction.

Inſtead, therefore, of ——— " But I am " aſſured the old Copy itſelf is ſtill more *incorrect*, " in many Places unintelligible: 'Tis Pity ſo many " intolerable Errors ſhould be ſuffered to ſtand *un-* " *corrected*; and therefore I ſhall remark on ſome " of them, in order to a *corrected* Edition." Read,

——— *Quæ cauſa indigna* ſerenos
*Fœdavit* vultus? *aut cur hæc vulnera cerno?*
VIRG. Æn. ii. 285.

Such Queſtions I muſt refer to thoſe that are better prepared to anſwer them; and if I can but clear the Face, the *ſerenus vultus* of this Play (which Words admirably expreſs the Character of the Compoſition) from ſome of the Filth and Soil that lies upon it, I ſhall not much mind when, or by whoſe means it came there.

The firſt Fault, that muſt undergo my Cenſure in this *ſecond Survey* of the Text of this Tragedy, will prove, I doubt, the Author's own.

Act I. Sc. I. P. 1.

*The ſlow Aurore, that ſo for* Love, *or* Shame,
*Doth* long delay *to ſhew her* bluſhing Face.

For *Love* of whom? Of good old *Tithonus*, to be ſure, from whoſe Bed ſhe riſeth, in the Poets, every Morning. Behold here the beautiful *Aurora*, ever freſh and fair, leaving the cold withered Embraces of Old Age immortalized, with Reluctance, and —— *long delaying* to ſhew her bluſhing Face. An excellent Example this, for young and gay



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Females to follow, that have old Men for their Husbands. But, supposing her to be fond of *Tithonus*'s Bed, the Affection was chaste and virtuous; and what Cause was there then for *Shame?* Why must a *guilty Blush* spread itself over her Face, as if she was just risen out of the Arms, not of a Husband, but a Paramour?

*Spenser* had not so good an Opinion of *Aurora*'s conjugal Love, for he makes her

Weary *of aged* Tithon's *saffron Bed.*
Fairy Qu. B. I. Cant. II. St. 7.

See also OVID's *Ep.* Phædr. Hypp. Ver. 93.

*Clarus erat silvis Cephalus* —— ——
—— —— —— —— ——
—— —— —— —— ——
*Ibat ad hunc sapiens à sene Diva viro.*

The Mountain *Hymettus* was the famed Scene of her Amours with this young and lusty Hunter; thither the Goddess *hastened* from the Bed of old *Tithonus*, to the Pleasures of a guilty Love; and confessed her Crime by her *Blushes.*

*Desere, Phœbus ait, thalamos Aurora seniles.*
*Quid juvat effœto procubuisse toro?*
*Te manet Æolides viridi venator in herbâ:*
*Surge, tuos ignes altus Hymettus habet.*
Flava verecundo Dea crimen in ore fatetur;
Et matutinos ocyus urget equos.

These excellent Lines are *Milton*'s. *Vid.* Eleg. Quint. In Adventum Veris.

But, perhaps, the noble Author did not design we should connect —— *for Love, or Shame,* —— with —— *doth long delay,* —— but with —— *Blushes.*

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*Bluſhes.* —— If that was his Meaning, the Words ſhould have been diſpoſed thus: ——

*The ſlow* Aurore, *that doth ſo long delay,*
*To ſhew her bluſhing Face for Love, or Shame.*

Act I. Sc. II. P. 7.

*Then for their Guiding and their Governance,*
*Shew forth ſuch —— Means of Circumſtance.*

There wants ſome Word of two Syllables to fill up the Verſe; and a more fit and proper one I cannot think of, than *'hooful.*

*Shew forth ſuch* 'hooful *Means of Circumſtance.*

We have *behooful*, P. 9. in *Aroſtus*'s Anſwer to this Part of *Gorboduc*'s Speech.

*What further Means* behooful *are and meet.*

Act II. Sc. II. P. 25.

*My Lord, yet ere you* now unkindly war.

What is *unkindly?* An Adverb? No; it is an Adjective, agreeing with *War*, which is a Subſtantive, not a Verb. There is *unkindly Wrong*, *unkindly* Tenderneſs, *unkindly Stubbornneſs*, P. 10, 11. P. 22. —— in cruel and *unkindly* wiſe. P. 31. —— And with *unkindly War.*

*Unkindly* may ſeem, at firſt view, to be an Adverb in the following Paſſage, P. 3. but it is not, it is an Adjective there:

*But thee of Birth-right and of Heritage,*
*Cauſeleſs*, unkindly, *and in wrongful wiſe,*
*Againſt all Law and Right he will bereave.*



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*i. e.* He, having no Cauſe, and being *unkindly*, or without natural Affection to thee, will bereave thee of thy Right. If *War*, then, be a Subſtantive, and *unkindly* an Adjective agreeing with it, a Verb is wanting, and a very little Change will make us one out of *now*. We may read,

——— *Yet ere you* move *War*.

There is *Bellum movere* in *Latin* Authors, and Κινεῖν δόρυ is a *Greek* Phraſe, that I happen to have juſt now before me in *Euripides*, Fragm. p. 467. Ed. *Barn*.

But, perhaps the original Lection may be reſtored by an eaſier Emendation, prefixing only a ſingle Letter to the Word *now*:

——— *Yet ere you* know *unkindly War*.

To *know* War is the ſame as γινώσκειν πόλεμον, *decernere Bellum*, to *reſolve upon War*: Or, to *know unkindly War*, may ſignify, (according to the uſual Senſe of the Word *know*) to feel and experience the Miſeries of an unnatural War.

——— Χαλεποὶ γὰρ πόλεμοι ἀδελφῶν.

Act. III. Sc. I. P. 29.

*Yet*, O ye Gods, *if ever woful King*,
*Might move* you Kings *of Kings*, *wreke it on me*.

In the late Edition it is *King* of Kings; but that is a ſlight Error: I wiſh it was no Error, and that *Gorboduc* had invocated, not the Gods at large, but the Supreme *Jupiter*, to whom this Title properly belongs.

*Yet*,

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*Yet*, higheſt God, *if ever woful King*
*Might move* thee King *of Kings* ——

So the * *learned Muſe* of this noble Poet ought to have written it.

All the Gods are ‖ Ἄναχτες, in *Greek* Authors; and their Temples, the royal Houſes of their Kingſhips, are called Ἀνάκτορα. But the Gods at large are never ſtiled Ἄναχτες ἀνάκτων. Kings were ſuppoſed to be under the peculiar Preſidency of *Jupiter*; from him alone they were thought to derive their Power, and to be ſubject to his particular Inſpection in the Exerciſe of it; and therefore the Title of *King of Kings* could be given only to him.

Αὐτίκα χαλκῆας μὲν ὑδείομεν Ἡφαίστοιο·
Τευχήσας δ' Ἄρηος· ἐπακτῆρας δὲ Χιτώνης
Ἀρτέμιδος· Φοίβῳ δὲ, λύρης εὖ εἰδόται οἶμοι,
Ἐκ δὲ ΔΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΕΣ. ——
CALL. Hymn. in Jovem, V. 76.

*Regum timendorum in proprios greges*,
Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Jovis.
HOR. Od. III. 1.

The Title, then, of *King of Kings*, which my Correction makes *Gorbodùc* give to *Jupiter*, is very proper, and agreeable to the Senſe of the An-

* See the Verſes to Lord *Buckhurſt*, among thoſe prefixed by *Spenſer* to his *Fairy Queen*:
*Whoſe* learned Muſe *hath writ her own Record*
*In golden Verſe, worthy immortal Fame.*

‖ Ἄναχτες· οἱ θεοὶ· καὶ Ἀνάκτορα, τὰ ἱερά. Suid. in Voc. Ἄναχτες. The *Latin* Verſion of *Kuſter*'s Edition gives us *Caſtor* and *Pollux* for οἱ θεοὶ in the *Greek*, as if none of the Gods were Ἄναχτες, but theſe.



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cients; but it is *new*, I believe, and without Example in their Writings, where Ἀναξ ἀνάκτων is only uſed to expreſs the ſupreme Royalty of *Jupiter* over the inferior Gods, or Ἄναχτες, and is equivalent to Θεὸς θεῶν, or *God of Gods*. Vide SPAN. Numiſm. Vol. I. P. 465.

*Diſdain, ſaith he, of his* Inheritance
*Arms him to wreke the great pretended Wrong,*
*With civil Sword, upon his Brother's Life.*

Read, — *Diſdain, ſaith he, of his* Diſheritance. i. e. *Diſdain*, that he was deprived of one half of that Kingdom, which was his by Birth-right.

See P. 20. *The loathed Wrong of your* Diſheritance. After I had made this Correction, I met with a Line in *Spenſer*, which ſhews that the preſent Reading may be right:

*And evermore the Carle* of Courteſy accus'd.
*Fairy Q.* B. 3. Cant. 9. St. 12.

The Senſe muſt be, *accus'd him of Diſcourteſy*, ſaith the learned Remarker. See *Remarks* on *Spenſer*, P. 87.

Act IV. Sc. 1. P. 37.

*Of ſavage Beaſts might not the Slaughter ſerve*
*To feed thy greedy Will, and in the midſt*
*Of their Entrails to ſtain thy deadly Hands*
*With Blood* deſerv'd, *and drink thereof thy Fill?*
*Or if nought elſe but Death, and Blood of Man*
*Mought pleaſe thy Luſt, could none in* Britain *Land,*
*Whoſe Heart* be torn *out of his* loving *Breaſt*
*With thine own Hand, or* work *what Death thou would'ſt,*
*Suffice to make a Sacrifice t' appeaſe*
*That deadly Mind, and murd'rous Thought in thee?*

For

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For *deserv'd*, in the fourth Line, read *desir'd*. In the seventh and eighth Lines, correct *be torn*, by uniting again what the Printer had wrongfully divided: For *loving*, read *living*, and for *work*, *workt*; and make the two Lines a Parenthesis:

*(Whose Heart* betorn *out of his* * living *Breast*
*With thine own Hand, or* workt *what Death thou*
*would'st.)*

Act V. Sc. II. P. 55.

*A rutheful Case, that those whom* Duty *bound,*
*Whom* grafted Law *by* Nature, *Truth, and Faith,*
*Bound to preserve their Country, and their King,*
Born to defend their Common-wealth, and Prince.

*Whom grafted Law by Nature,* —— A Comma is wanting after *Law*; for *Nature* doth not *graft*; she produceth only a wild Stock, and *Art* improves upon it by *grafting*. I have a Jealousy, that some former Publisher was misled, by the Want of this Comma, to attempt a Correction of his Copy, and make the Words *Duty* and *Nature* change Places. *Law grafted by Duty* (which perhaps was the Lection of his Copy,) was easily seen to be Nonsense; but *Law grafted by Nature* hath a better Look, and might pass with Readers enow unsuspected. I add the Comma, and restore each Word to its original Place, thus: ——

*A rutheful Case, that those whom* Nature *bound,*
*Whom* grafted Laws, *by* Duty, *Truth, and Faith.*

By *Nature*, is meant the Law of Nature; by the *grafted Law*, political Institutions are meant, and the Improvements of Civil Society, which are *grafted upon the Law of Nature*. *Duty* is put here

* Protinus ereptas *viventi pectore* fibras
Inspiciunt. —— Ovid. Met. XV. 136.

for

for *Moral Obligation*: And the Words * *Truth* and *Faith*, imply Promiſes, Pacts, Covenants, *i. e. Civil Obligations*, and are uſed here with reference to the *grafted Law*, or political Inſtitutions.

Where is the Difference, in the third and fourth Lines, betwixt —— *preſerving their Country, and their King* —— and —— *defending their Commonwealth, and Prince?* It is in the Expreſſion only, for the Senſe is perfectly the ſame: The Author could never deſign both theſe Verſes to ſtand. A modeſt Critick may affirm that the laſt Line is ſuperfluous, and ought to be excluded.

—— *And from* the *Womb ſhould bring*
(*O native Soil*) *thoſe that will needs deſtroy,*
*And ruin thee.* ——
Read ——
—— *And from* thy *Womb ſhould bring,*
*O native Soil,* ——

P. 57.

*My Lords, as Duty, and my Troth doth move,*
*And of my Country* Work and *Care in me.*
Read, —— *worken Care in me.*

Act V. Sc. I. P. 51.

*Even yet the Life of* Britain *Land doth hang*
In traiterous Ballance of vengeful Weight.

What a wretched Line is here! How obſcure in the Expreſſion, and how ‡ *abſurd* in the Meaſure! A Syllable is wanting to fill up the Verſe, which is ſup-

* —— Ut reddere *depoſitum*, *promiſſum* facere, quæque pertinent ad *veritatem*, & ad *fidem*, ea migrare interdum, & non ſervare, ſit juſtum. CICER. Offic. 1. 31.

‡ *Abſurdoque ſono* fontes, & ſtagna cietis.
CICER. de Div. 1. 15.

plied

plied by keeping in the * middle Vowel in *traiterous*; and that makes the Accent fall ridiculouſly upon the laſt Syllable in *Ballance*. Could ſuch a Line as this come from an Author, that is juſtly commended by Mr. *Pope* for his ——† *unaffected Perſpicuity of Style, and an eaſy Flow in the Numbers!*

I cenſure this Verſe here out of Place, without offering to correct it, merely for the Occaſion it gives me of naming Mr. *Pope*; that I may join myſelf to the Croud of his Admirers, and add my Voice to their Acclamations. *Harmony*, which is the § Daughter of the Muſes, reigns in his Poetry; a Muſick like that of the eight Spheres, in whoſe

——— *Motions Harmony divine*
*So ſmooths her charming Tones, that God's own Ear*
*Liſtens delighted.* ——— Par. Loſt. V. 625.

It is a Harmony of *Reaſon* and *Virtue*, as well as *Sound*, and every Part of us feels the Force of it. The Ear is delighted, the Imagination is raviſhed, it ſatisfies the Reaſon, and approves itſelf to the Heart. The *Eſſay on Man* is the beſt philoſophical Poem that ever was written; (what a charming *Platonick* Union have we there, of Learning and

* The Word *traiterous* loſeth its middle Vowel perpetually in this Play; and ſo do all ſimilar Words, as *pois'nous*, *Flat'ry*, *temp'rate*, *murd'rous*, &c. except only *Reverence*, p. 24. *Miſery*, p. 40. *Dangerous* and *Difference*, p. 55.

† See *Spenſer*'s Letter to the Earl of *Middleſex*, prefixed to the late Edition of *Gorboduc*.

§ See the Chorus at the End of the third Act of *Euripides*'s *Medea*.

Αἰεὶ δι' λαμπροτάτης
Βαίνουσὰ αἰθέρος αἰθρης·
Ἔνθά ποθ' ἁγνὰς
Ἐννέα Πιερίδας
Λέγουσι Μοῦσας
Ξυνδὰν Ἁρμονίαν φυτεῦσαι·
Ἠδυπνόους ἀύρας.

Αἰεὶ δ' ἀπαλλομένων
Χαίτασιν ἐυάνθη ῥοδί-
ων σκλάχων ἀνθίσιν,
Τᾶ σοφία παρίδρυς
Πέμπειν ἔρωτας
Παγγοίας ἀρετᾶς ξυνεργοῦς.

Polite-

Politeneſs; of * *Philoſophy*, and *Love!*) and hath engaged one of the beſt Critics to illuſtrate and defend it. I dare not indulge myſelf in the Vanity of hoping, that my poor Attempt to reſtore this *Tragedy* of *Gorbuduc*, without any Helps from old Editions, will be approved, by ſo great a Poet as Mr. *Pope*, and ſo great a Critic as Mr. *Warburton*.

*I am, SIR, Your's*, &c. J. C.

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## ARTICLE II.

*A Full View of the Tranſactions of the Reign of* Queen Elizabeth, *tranſmitted down to us in a Series of Letters and Papers of State collected by Dr.* Forbes. *Volume* I. *Pages* 507. *Preface* 11.

*To the* AUTHOR *of the Hiſtory of the* WORKS *of the* LEARNED.

*SIR,*

COllections of Political Letters are very ſerviceable towards the Diſcovery of Hiſtorical Truth, and to Men of Taſte and Sagacity, they afford the livelieſt Sketches of the Complections of the Times, and the Characters of thoſe who flouriſhed when they were wrote. For this reaſon ſuch Collections, when they have been publiſh'd with Care and Judgement, have always met with favourable Reception from the Publick. As our own Hiſtory affords us a Series of the moſt intereſting Events, and every Reign preſents us with many eminent Perſons whoſe Counſels have done Honour and Credit to their native Country, 'tis no wonder if their original Papers, whenever they

* See again the ſame Chorus.

Καλλιναὸς τ' ἐπὶ Κηφισοῦ ῥοαῖς — σεμίναν χάριν καταπτύξασαι
Τὰν Κύπριν κλαΐζουσιν ἀφυ- — Μοιρίας ἀνίμαν.

What a wonderful Compliment is here to the *Poet's* Country! ſurely *Venus* and the *Loves* he ſpeaks of, attended when he wrote it, and ——— Shed their ſeleƈteſt Influence.

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can be procured, are much esteemed and more relied upon, than the Accounts of the Generality of our Historians; whose Artificial Glosses have too frequently disguised the Truth, or their Ignorance mistaken it. Of late Years many Collections of this sort have been published; but I know of none which deserve the notice of the Publick better than Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Letters, (of which your last Journal gave some Account,) and those which are to be the Subject of the present Extract.

If we consider the Reign in which these Letters were wrote, the Ministers who were concerned in the Negotiations which they relate to, or the Interesting Events contained in them; they will lay a just Claim to the Attention of the Reader, and afford an ample field of Entertainment and Reflection. They take in no larger a Space of Time, than Part of the Year 1558, all 1559, and Part of 1560. But Dr. *Forbes*, in his Preface, * informs us, that He has collected such a Series of Important Pieces, from the Royal Archives, the *Cottonian* Library and *Scotland*, as will give a full and clear View of almost every Transaction thro' the whole Course of *Queen Elizabeth's* memorable Reign. The Doctor observes very justly in his Preface, that *Camden* has strangely misrepresented the whole Affair of the Peace of *Cateau Cambresis*, between *Henry* the 2d, and *Q. Elizabeth*. According to his Account, the latter imagining the Assistance of *Spain* (who had engaged us in a War with *France*) not only unserviceable, but unbecoming her Dignity and the Honour of *England*, thought fit to treat with the *French King* apart. These Letters contribute to set that important Negotiation in a true Light. The first Overtures for Peace came from *France*, which *Q. Elizabeth* entertained in such a manner, as at the same time that She shewed her own Inclination for Peace, She took care to give no Jea-

* See Page 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

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louſy to the *King* of *Spain* her Ally. And in her final Inſtructions to her Commiſſioners the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* Lord *Chamberlain*, the *Biſhop* of *Ely*, *and* Dr. *Wotton*, She orders them to aſk the Opinion, Advice, and friendly Aſſiſtances of the *Spaniſh* Commiſſioners in every Point propoſed to the *French*, and prays them to bend their whole Induſtry to preſerve the Amity between Her and her good Brother the *King* of *Spain*.

On the other hand, the Commiſſioners of *Spain*, (at the head of whom was the famous *Duke* of *Alva*,) appear to have acted very honourably with regard to the *Engliſh* during the whole Courſe of the Treaty. They took care to communicate to them the private Conferences between them and the *French* Commiſſioners, who endeavoured to create Jealouſies beween the *Spaniſh* and the *Engliſh* Miniſters. They refuſed to conclude with *France*, till the *Engliſh* Treaty was ready for Signing, and gave their Advice readily and judiciouſly. In the Papers relating to this Negotiation, there are 3 that deſerve particular Conſideration. One † from Dr. *Wotton* to Secretary *Cecil*. Another * from the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners to the *Queen*. And a Third ‖ from the Privy Council to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners. Dr. *Wotton*'s Letter ſhews a great Experience in Buſineſs, a thorough Acquaintance with the *French* Court, and a true Zeal in the Service of his Country. It is writ in a Style that ſhews the Heart of the Writer to be affected by what he ſays, and warm in the Cauſe of his *Prince*. I ſhall give ſome Extracts from it.

" § For the Peace with *France* no Man can be of " other Opinion than that it were to be wiſh'd for; " but how to come by it is more doubtful: I mean " a Peace indeed, and not a Peice of Paper only,

† Page 52, 55, 56, &c. * P. 15. 40. 59. ‖ P. 18, 19.

§ In theſe Extracts the Original Orthography is not always obſerved; and even ſeveral Words are omitted.

" containing

" containing Words of a Treaty. What my *Lords*
" of *Arundel*, of *Ely*, and I thought thereof we
" have written Home already, and I ſome what
" privately to Mr. *Boxhole*. But ſeeing you require
" to underſtand ſomewhat of my Mind therein
" again; I cannot be eaſily perſuaded that we can
" have a true Peace with *France*, —the Cauſes that
" move me ſo to think are: the ancient Immor-
" tal Hatred they bear unto us; the great Spite and In-
" dignation They have at the many and ſignal Vic-
" tories which we have had of them in their own
" Country; their inſatiable Ambition, whereby
" they have partly circumvented, partly oppreſſed
" all their Neighbours, and never ceaſe ſo to do,
" but when they are not able, or lack Occaſion to
" do it; the great Deſire they have to be re-
" venged of us, for that we have ſo often letted
" them of their Enterprizes when they have gone
" about to oppreſs their Neighbours; the Pretence
" they make now by the *Scotiſh Queen*'s faynidde Title
" to the Crown of *England*; the Occaſion and Com-
" modity they have now to invade us by Land on
" the *Scotiſh Side*; and the great Helps they ſhall
" have thereto of the *Scots*, and peradventure of
" ſome other Nations, which they will ſet our Tops
" too; the moſt dangerous Diviſions in Religion
" among ourſelves, whereby they ſhall think their
" Enterpriſes eaſier to be brought to paſs; the poor
" State the Crown of *England* is in for lack of Mo-
" ney, which I fear they underſtand too well; the lack
" of good Soldiers, Captains, and all Kind of Am-
" munition that we have; the Nakedneſs of all our
" Country, having almoſt never a Place well forti-
" fied to ſuſtain a Siege; the great Commodity which
" they look to have thereby, if they may ſubdue *Eng-*
" *land* to them: for bringing that once to paſs (which
" God forbid) and having *England*, *Scotland*, and
" *Irleand*, no doubt they wou'd look ſhortly after to
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" be Monarchs of almoſt all *Europe*, and ſo they " were like to be indeed. —— And altho' they re- " quired to talk of Peace and will make gay Over- " tures to that Intent, I cannot but ſuſpect " that theſe Offers are even like to the Wolf's Of- " fers in the Fable, and as you wrote very well " *timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.* As long as we " ſhall continue good Amity with the *King* of *Spain*, " it ſhall not be ſo eaſy for the *French* to obtain " their Purpoſe in *England*, as they would it were. " If they may by crafty means, and vain Pro- " miſes diſſever us from *Spain*, then ſhall they think " they have good Cauſe to ſing *Te Deum*, &c. " Dr. *Wotton* then proceeds to give ſome Inſtances of the Uncertainty of *French* Promiſes and Faith, in two remarkable Inſtances from the *French* and *Engliſh* Hiſtory; and ſuggeſts another Reaſon of their Offers to make a Peace, *viz.* That they may under that Pretence ſend Miniſters into *England*, who may ſow Diviſions amongſt and corrupt the *Queen's* Subjects. —— He next gives a further Explanation of the Views of the *French* Court, and the Danger that was to be apprehended from them, upon account of the *Scots Queen's* pretended Title to *England*, and the Power of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, who would ſeek all poſſible means to ſecure their own Influence by aggranddizing their Neice. — I ſhall conclude with quoting the Dr's judicious * Sentiments about Renunciations in general, in which he ſpeaks the Language of an able Stateſman; and as what he ſays on that Topick, is proved from the Examples of times before he lived, ſo it has been verified by Inſtances of much later Date. " I " have ſeen Men that uſe to leap go a great way " back in order to leap the further, and ſo I fear, tho' " they ſhould uſe any ſuch Renunciation of the Q.

* Page 21.

" of

" of *Scots* Title, yet that ſhould be only in order " to leap further; that is to ſay, not becauſe the " Renunciation ſhould take Place, but only thereby " to work, ſo that they might the better come to " their Purpoſe. If you would imagine a Treaty " to be made, wherein are many and divers Articles " contained, and among others ſuch a Renunciati- " on; you know that if one Article of the Trea- " ty be broken, then all the reſt is of none Effect. " And as for Renunciations, we have had meet and " good Experience thereof among ourſelves; for " we in the Treaty of *Bretigny* renounced the Right " and Title to the Kingdom of *France*, and ſo " have we done by other Treaties ſince; as by the " Treaty called *Tractatus perpetuæ Pacis*, made in " the Year 1527. And yet becauſe the *French* have " broken all thoſe Treaties, we have reſumed our " renounced Title. —— &c.

*Bruſſels*, 9th of *Jan.* 1558.

I cannot help obſerving that as well in the whole Courſe of theſe Papers, as in all others relating to *France*, which I ever ſaw, that Court conſtantly appears in the ſame Light, artful and inſinuating; full of fair words, and hoſtile Purpoſes; ready to begin Injuries, yet apt to complain even of juſt Repriſals, and diſclaiming thoſe Wrongs they have committed, when they think it not a fit Seaſon to maintain them; amuſing their Enemies with Propoſals of Accommodation at the ſame Time that they are preparing to attack them; and in ſhort inſolent in a Flow of Fortune, riſing in their Demands if they are complied with, but ſinking them upon a reſolute Anſwer.—To return to our Collection: Aſſoon as the Treaty of *Cateau Cambreſis* was ſigned, *Q. Elizabeth* ſent *Lord Howard* of *Effingham* her Chamberlain, Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*, and Sir *Iſaac Throckmorton*, to receive the *French King's* Oath, for the Obſervation

of the Peace: Who on his Part ſent Monſieur *de Monmorency*, and the Sieur *de Velleville*, accompanied by four Hoſtages for the Delivery of *Calais* at the End of the eighth Year, and a large train, to receive Her's. —— The Diſpatches of the former give particular Relations of their Journey to the *French* Court, their Reception there, which was very honourable and courteous, the Ceremonies of the Ratification, and the Affairs which then employed the *French* Miniſters. The *Lord Howard* and Dr. *Wotton* returned Home after the Ratification was over, and Sir *N. Throckmorton* continued Ambaſſador in ordinary at the Court of *France*. The reſt of the Volume is taken up with his Letters to the *Queen*, the privy Council, and the Secretary of State: I ſhall give a few curious Particulars out of them, when I have firſt briefly touched upon his Character, and opened the Scene of Buſineſs. He appears to have been a Perſon peculiarly fitted for his Employment, of great Addreſs and Penetration; a peculiar Skill in procuring Intelligence, and penetrating into the moſt ſecret Receſſes of the *French* Cabinet: Zealous in the Service of his Miſtreſs, unwilling ſhe ſhould be amuſed by Artificial Delays, from purſuing what he thought her true Intereſt, and always apprehenſive of Evaſion and Slyneſs on the Side of *France*.—He engaged warmly in the cauſe of the Proteſtant Party in *France*, ſupporting their Intereſt at his own Court by his Recommendation, and in *France* by his Intrigues, in ſo much that there was never a Plot or Riſing in the Kingdom on their Part, but the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador was ſuſpected by the *French* Miniſters to be at the Bottom of it. Upon Sir *N. Throckmorton's* Arrival, the Conſtable of *Monmorency* was prime Miniſter, whoſe Diſpoſitions were inclined to preſerve the Peace juſt concluded between *England* and *France*, and whoſe Prudence tempered the Heat and Indiſcretion of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the *Duke*

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*Duke* of *Guiſe* his Brother, and ballanced the Authority of that Faction. The Affairs which then took up the Attention of the *French* Court were two Marriages, between the *King* of *Spain* and the *French King*'s Daughter, his Siſter and the *Duke* of *Savoy*; the Increaſe of the Proteſtants, who both for Quality and Numbers grew every Day more formidable; the Troubles in *Scotland* upon Account of Religion; and the Proſecution of the *Queen* of *Scots* (then Wife to the *Dauphin*'s) Title to *England*. —— Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, in one of his * Letters, gives an Account of the *French* King's repairing to the Parliament, accompanied by his Council of State, and of a Speech made there by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* againſt the Proteſtants; requeſting Execution to be made of them, and Confiſcation of their Goods. Several Counſellors of the Parliament had the Courage to withſtand this unjuſt Propoſition, and were ſent to the Baſtile. *Throckmorton* accounts for this Proceeding, by attributing it to an Intention in the *Guiſian* Party to weaken the Conſtable, by attacking him indirectly in the Perſon of his Friends, many of whom, particularly the Preſident *Siggier*, were ſuſpected to favour the Reformed; and likewiſe to prevent a Deſign, which the Proteſtants had, of preſenting to the King, by the Hands of ſome Nobleman of their Party, a full Confeſſion of their Faith. Soon after broke out an Affair, which was the firſt avowed Cauſe of the Quarrel between Q. *Elizabeth* and Q. *Mary*, *viz.* the latter's quartering the Arms of *England*. The Lords of the Privy-Council † order the Ambaſſador to make ſtrong Remonſtrances on that Head, which he does to the ‖ Conſtable, who tells him, "that "it was a Matter he had not to do withal, and

* Page 126. † Page 134. ‖ Page 138.



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" beſide his Knowledge; but he would break " the ſame to the Council, and do all he could " to the ſtaying of that which ſhould touch the " Queen his Miſtreſs's Honour, to whom, next " to the King his Maſter, he was moſt deſirous " to do Service."—The Conſtable's Remonſtrances, if they were ſincere, had however no Effect. On the contrary, * at the Tournaments celebrated in Honour of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Marriage, Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* ſends word, " that the " King Dauphin's Band begun the Juſts, and two " Heralds which came before it, who were *Scots*, " were fair ſet out with the Dauphin and Dau- " phineſs's Arms, with a Scutcheon of *England* " fair expoſed to public View."—This Claim openly juſtified, and the Preparations † made to ſend Troops into *Scotland*, under Pretence of ſupporting the Queen Regent in appeaſing the Diſturbances about Religion, (but as Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* ſays, really to annoy us on that ſide upon the firſt Opportunity) gave ſtrong Suſpicions at the *Engliſh* Court; and the vigilant Ambaſſador fails not to inſiſt on theſe Circumſtances as ſtrong Marks of the bad Intentions of *France*, and exhorts the Miniſters here to prepare in Time againſt them.—Matters ſoon grew more embroiled, after the Death of *Henry* II. (who was killed at the above-mentioned Juſts, where Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* was preſent), the Conſtable's Retreat, and the Aſcendant of the *Guiſean* Party over the Councils of their Niece and *Francis* II. her Huſband.—Q. *Elizabeth* ‖ was with Reaſon apprehenſive, from the Intelligence ſhe had received from *Throckmorton*, of ſome private Conſultations amongſt the *French* Miniſters, whether the King ſhould not take the Style of *King of England*,

* Page 150. † Page 149. ‖ Page 170.

that

that an open Rupture would enſue, and therefore ſends Orders to her Ambaſſador, in caſe thoſe Deliberations were put in Execution, not to preſent his Letter of Credence, but remain at Court as a private Gentleman till farther Directions from her.—The *French* took a middle way: * For at the Interment of *Henry* II. the new King was proclaimed in the uſual Style, but a Seal was made for the Uſe of the *French* Queen in *Scottiſh* Affairs, with the Arms of *France* and *England* quarter'd, and the Inſcription about the Seal ſtiled her *Maria Dei Gratia Regina Franciæ, Angliæ & Scotiæ.* However, the Ambaſſador † not long after had an Audience of the *French* King, to congratulate him on his Acceſſion to the Throne. Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, the *French* made Preparations at ſeveral of their Ports, as *Dieppe*, *Calais*, and *New-haven*, for tranſporting of Men of War into *Scotland*, and one *Octavian* was appointed to command the firſt Body that was ſent there, who was afterwards to be ſupported with ſtronger Force; it being the Intention of the *French* (as *Throckmorton* ‖ informs the Queen) "to proceed by degrees, "and take footing one after another, and are "utterly determin'd, being once able, to uſe Cru- "elty towards the Noblemen and Gentlemen in "*Scotland*; to take their Lives from them, and "to annex their Lands as forfeited to the Crown "of *Scotland.*" In another Letter he ſays, "it "is in no wiſe to be ſuffered, that the *French* ſhall "oppreſs the *Scots* that now favour the Religion, "or that any ſuch Number of the *French* were "ſuffered to land, as may afterwards annoy *Eng-* "*land.*—

The Queen being thus timely forewarn'd, put her Kingdom in ſuch a Readineſs to reſiſt any At-

* Page 198 and 203. † Page 221. ‖ Page 113.



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tempts of the *French*, who had even formed a Design to ſurpriſe *Berwick*, that they themſelves began to be apprehenſive for *Calais*, which Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* had diſcovered they never intended to reſtore. " * Some Tenants it ſeems had " refuſed to take a Leaſe of ſome Lands within " the Pale of *Calais*, becauſe they ſaid it was by " Treaty to be reſtored to the *Engliſh* within eight " Years. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* order'd the " *French* King's Officer, who was to let out the " Lands, to tell the Tenants ſecretly, that their " Leaſes ſhould run for as long as the Town con- " tinued in the *French* Poſſeſſion, ſince there was " no Reſtitution meant.——

Soon after the Death of *Henry* II. the King of *Navarre* a Proteſtant was ſent for to Court. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, ſtudious to engage him in the Intereſt of his Soveraign, ſent *Killigrew* his Secretary to meet him on the Road, and deliver him a Letter from Q. *Elizabeth*; and upon his Coming to *Paris* had a private Conference with him, in which the K. of *Navarre* ſhewed great Affection for the Queen, and told Sir *Nicholas* that he intended to ſend one ſpeedily to the Queen with his Mind in ſundry Things, and would write to her in his own Hand, *&c.*

Juſt about this time Sir *P. Mewtas*, a Gentleman of good Addreſs, and Knowledge of the *French* Court, was ſent over to *Throckmorton*, with Inſtructions to procure a Confirmation of the late Treaty from the reigning King; and the † latter, who began to grow very uneaſy in his Employment, and preſs'd in every Letter to be recalled, recommended him as a fit Perſon to be made Ambaſſador in his room, as one well verſed in the Manners and Language of the Country, and very

* Page 165. † Page 175.

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agreeable to them. On the 18th of *September* the new King was crowned at *Rheims*, and afterwards the Court took a Progreſs into *Lorrain*, where Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* followed it, and ſends regular Advertiſements of their moſt ſecret Deſigns. *

In a Letter dated from *Rheims* he ſends Advice, " that the *French* were in practiſe for the taking " of *Portſmouth* and the *Iſle of Wight*, and had " made Enquiry for Charts of the ſame. In " another, that *Octavian* had landed the *French-* " *men* in *Scotland* at *Dalkeith*; as for *Labres* and " the Biſhop of *Arniers*, they were not as yet " landed. He was likewiſe very importunate, " that he might be permitted to come Poſt, and " ſpeak with the Queen, on ſome Matters that " could not well be committed to Writing." However, before he could obtain this Permiſſion, he followed the Court to *Bar-le-duc* in *Lorrain*, where a Feaſt was celebrated in Honour of the Order of St. *Michael*. This Aſſiduity of his was taken notice of, and the Duke of *Guiſe* told the King one Day at Dinner, † " Sir, You may ſee " that Mr. *L'Ambaſſadeur* is a good Hunter, and " will not leave your Company, whereas all the " reſt do leave you in the plain Field."——When the *French* Court departed from *Bar-le-duc* on a Hunting-Progreſs to ſeveral Seats of the Duke of *Guiſe*, Sir *Nicholas* made a Tour to *Mentz*, *Thianville*, *Nancy*, and other Towns in thoſe Parts, not omitting to ſend from thence very important Advices; " that *Maſtiques* was ſent with twelve " Enſigns of Foot into *Scotland*; that he was in- " formed by one who had ſpoken with the Mar- " quis *D'Albœut*, that the ſaid Marquis, upon " Talk of Matters in *Scotland*, made an Over-

* Page 239. † Page 244.



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" ture to him of the Commodity and Advantage " they had now for the landing Men of War in " *Scotland*, under Colour of chaſtiſing the *Scots* " for their Wilfulneſs in Religion, and how they " ſhould be able thereby to proſecute the *French* " Queen's Right there, when Time was for the " purpoſe, and to Set upon Land by that means " as many as they would; ſaying, the *Scots* ſhould " be chaſtiſed, and taught to know themſelves, " and when they had ſmarted well enough for " their Folly, that then the *Scots*, at leaſt ſuch as " were wiſe, knowing their Purpoſe and right- " ful Quarrel, would follow them, and do as " they did.—The Marquis inquired of *England*, " and the Situation thereof; and upon the ſaid " Gentleman's Declaration, confeſs'd the Landings " were not very commodious. Notwithſtanding he " ſaid they would begin by Land; and whereas " *England* thought to ſet all on a Day, they " would keep us well enough from that, and be- " gin *petit à petit*, as they did in *Piedmont*, and " enlarge their Borders, and withal find the Means " to trouble us otherwiſe; and ſo willed him to " hearken towards the Spring, for then he went " into *Scotland*, and then alſo he would help to " awaken us, *&c.*

Soon after this Diſpatch Sir *N. Throckmorton* received a Permiſſion from the *Queen* to return for a very ſhort Time to *England*, and an Order to notify the ſame to the *French* King; the Ambaſſador ſet out immediately for *London*, leaving *Killigrew* and *Jones* Agents at the *French* Court during his Abſence.

I ſhall here cloſe my Extract of Dr. *Forbes*'s Collection. From the View I have given of it, thoſe who are verſed in Hiſtory will be able to form a Judgment of its Merits; the Part I have left unabridged contains a great many curious Particulars,

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ars, and that from whence I have drawn my Abridgment, has several which I was forced to omit, for fear of swelling this Article beyond the limits of your Journal. It would perhaps be no Unentertaining Employment to compare the Accounts given us by *Thuanus* and *Davila*, Historians of Credit and Eminence, with the Relations of the same Period of Time, by Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*. A Period remarkable for a Variety of Interesting Events, in which Political Motives were frequently concealed under the Mask of Religion, and the persecuting Spirit of one Party excited a turbulent one in the other. When Boldness and Dissimulation, Fraud and Cruelty, Constancy and Perfidy, Honesty and Intrigue, in short the whole Train of Vices and Virtues appear on the Stage in their turns, and present a Scene equally various and surprising. To make the Comparison still more extensive, 'tis to be wish'd Dr. *Forbes* may give us the rest of Sir *N. Throckmorton's* Negotiations in *France*; and be able to connect *Queen Elizabeth's* Affairs at that Court, in a continued Series of the Dispatches of the Ministers she employed there. The Regency of *Catherine de Medicis*, must be set out in lively Colours by so masterly a hand as that of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*. Nor can the Reader fail of being strongly affected with the Heroick Actions of the Prince of *Conde*, and Admiral *Coligny*, described by one, who perhaps had no small Share in forming their Resolutions, and exciting them to vindicate their oppressed Religion by Arms, against the Persecution and Bigotry of their Enemies.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE III.

*The* Chriſtian Free-thinker: *Or, an Epiſtolary Diſcourſe concerning* Freedom of Thought. *In which are contained Obſervations on the Lives and Writings of* Epicurus, Lucretius, Petronius, Cardan, Bruno, Vanini, *and* Spinoſa. LONDON, *Printed for* J. ROBERTS, *near the* Oxford-Arms, *in* Warwick-Lane. 1740. *Octavo*, Pages 66.

THE Deſign of this Piece is to mortify the Vanity of our petulant Infidels, who aſſume to themſelves, with ſo little Reaſon, the glorious Character of Free-thinkers, while they would repreſent all, who, upon the moſt warrantable Grounds, allow of, and ſubmit to a Revelation of Truth and Duty, as the mean Vaſſals of SUPERSTITION and PRIESTCRAFT. In order to this, our Author endeavours to prove, that *Free-thinking*, in the modern and faſhionable Senſe of that Term, has been the Source of the moſt enormous Errors, and the Parent of the moſt vain, ridiculous, and wicked Rites of religious Worſhip; and that Free-thinkers have, in all Times, betrayed themſelves to be an uneaſy, inconſtant, vapouriſh, deſultory Set of Men, and, in a word, perfect *Self-tormentors.*

He begins with defining *Superſtition* and *Prieſtcraft.* The former he underſtands to be "the Effect of a falſe and groundleſs Notion of the divine Power, imprinting Terror on the Mind, and ſo begetting, at beſt, but a ſlaviſh Obedience, which too often is irrational." The latter he makes to be "that fraudulent Art, by which the Impious propagate Superſtition among the Unwary, and frequently lead Men into deſperate Acts of Wickedneſs, while they make a Semblance

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" blance of instructing them in supereminent Pi-
" ety."

For the Origin of these two odious Things, which are of ancient Date, our Author directs us to *Egypt* and *Babylon*. The Religion of these famous Nations was the Invention of their Priests, and was evidently fictitious, absurd, and calculated purely to keep the People in blind Subjection and Slavery. —— All eminent Free-thinkers, he says, begin with studying the theological Systems of these People, and having thoroughly acquainted themselves with their *Foibles*, transfer the Arguments, with which they have effectually battered them, to play upon Religions of later Date.

These Systems owe their Birth entirely to the unconfined Wit of Man. If they had come from God, they would have been, as our Author observes, consistent and uniform: But they were not so. The *Egyptians* asserted, (according to *Diodorus Siculus*) that the World was made in Time; the *Chaldeans*, that both it and Mankind existed from all Eternity. These Systems, then, were indubitably the Product of human Invention, of Thoughts unconfined, or, to speak out, of Free-thinking. —— " It must, he says, be so for
" many Reasons. Superstition is an unreasonable
" Terror, arising from a false Idea of the Divine
" Nature. This cannot come from God; he is
" the Father and Fountain of Truth; it springs
" therefore from Man, and not from restrained or
" narrow thinking, but from a boundless Desire of
" transgressing all Limits, and a Resolution of
" feigning new and unexisting Worlds, that is,
" framing them in Idea, rather than own a Defi-
" ciency in Understanding, and a Want of Power
" to comprehend the Things which are. Now the
" Contrivers of all such Systems are truly and pro-
" perly Priests to Gods of their own making; and
" the

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" the Art and Invention, ſhewn in theſe Contri-
" vances, is, without Queſtion, Prieſt-craft; by
" which it very oddly, and yet plainly appears,
" that thoſe Opinions, which, it is ſaid, Free-
" thinking would extrude, are, in fact, the Fruits
" of Free-thinking."

To juſtify what he here advances, our Author puts us in mind of *Lucretius*, the Laureat of Free-thinkers. His whole Aim was to deliver his Diſciples from the Apprehenſion of fiery Lakes, avenging Furies, and all the Terrors of the *Pagan* Hell. But he adviſes us to think with ourſelves, in what Senſe *Lucretius* and his Followers are to be underſtood. Will we reſtrain them to the Hell of *Homer* and the Poets? Let them, he ſays, deſtroy it, tho' he does not ſee how their Arguments will do even that. But, as he goes on, granting they could, what would this be more than pulling down by Free-thinking, what Free-thinking had ſet up? The reſt of the World have nothing to do with theſe Squabbles: The Poets, who have the freeſt Thoughts of any Men, adorn the gloomy Subject of eternal Miſery with terrible Deſcriptions; they paſs on the Vulgar, when at the Mercy of Free-thinkers, for Facts; then come the Philoſophers, and in conſequence of their Inquiries, demoliſh the Poets Structure. The Amount of all this is no more, than that one Body of Wits defeated another.

But *Lucretius* not only derides the poetical Hell, which is of human Invention, but argues alſo againſt the Poſſibility of a future State. Now this, our Author ſays, is quite another Queſtion; for a future State is neither an Invention of Poets, or of any other Free thinkers; nor is it a Truth diſcoverable by Free-thinking: But it is a Truth received another way, and therefore Free-thinking hath no Power over it. To prove this, he has given us a View of the *Epicurean* Scheme dreſs'd up by *Lucretius*,

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*cretius*, so far as it relates to this Matter: By which it appears, that the utmost Stretch of their Free-thinking produced nothing thereupon but a Set of chimerical and absurd Vagaries, that afford not the least Knowledge or Satisfaction to any intelligent and impartial Inquirer.

Having represented the Nonsense of Free-thinking, in the common Acceptation of that Term, our Author proceeds to shew its Inconstancy and Restlessness. He does not intend hereby to cast any contumelious Reflections on the Sect, as if he looked on them in the Light of wavering, uneasy, and irresolute Persons, in consequence of a wrong Turn of Mind, Deficiency in Understanding, or Imbecility of Judgment: Quite the contrary; he assures us, he has all the Regard for Free-thinkers they deserve; and what he insists on, is the natural Tendency of their Opinions, which, as he apprehends, induces that Restlessness, and those quick Revolutions in Sentiment, which seem inherent to every Free-thinker.

The very Notion of Free-thinking, as it is received by the Professors of it, excludes, he says, any immoveable Principle, or any invariable Rule for regulating their Speculations; — and this he owns to be reasonable, according to their Scheme: For since, in Opposition to the Vulgar, they give no heed to what any *Numa's* report on the Credit of their *Egeria's*, he sees no Cause, he says, why they should pay that Respect to any Man's Reason, which they refuse to Revelation; or why they should idolize Opinion after rejecting Faith. To him this seems just and well founded; but then he beseeches the Gentlemen he writes to, to fix their Eyes upon its Consequences, not such as are imputed to Free-thinking by its express Enemies, but such as are natural and unavoidable, such as are confessed

confeſſed by Free-thinkers themſelves. Theſe he ſets forth in five or ſix Pages.

He takes notice, that human Reaſon varies extremely; what one Man apprehends to be of the higheſt Importance, to another appears of no Conſequence at all. A Syſtem vehemently ſupported by its Votaries, is as violently decried by its Oppoſers. —— An Impatience of Ignorance in relation to our Being, our Duties, and the Duration of our Exiſtence, has prompted Men of Abilities, in all Ages, to exerciſe their Thoughts on theſe Subjects, as the moſt ſublime in their Nature, and of greateſt Importance to themſelves. In conſequence of this, they have indulged their Thoughts freely in examining themſelves, their Fellow Creatures, and all the animal, vegitative, and mineral Kingdoms, not fearing afterwards to ſcale the Heavens, and paſs the Limits of the World. Hence, as he goes on, the Variety of Conjectures concerning the Principle of the Univerſe, which ſome Wiſe-men, *i. e.* Free-thinkers, held to be Fire, others Air, others Water, *&c.* Hence innumerable other Sentiments, as oppoſite in themſelves, maintained and impugned with equal Ingenuity. Hence that Eagerneſs, with which Philoſophers proſecuted their Inquiries, and that Obſtinacy, with which they defended what they publiſhed as the Reſult of them; tho', as our Author remarks, they rarely acted in their Lives, according to the Syſtems they eſpouſed in their Schools.

To account for this, he would have us conſider, that the greateſt Philoſophers are, no more than others, exempt from certain Infirmities of Mind, and various external Incidents, which operate on the Underſtanding, and influence our moſt ſerious Thoughts: A ſufficient Reaſon this, as he ſays, not only why Men do not think alike on all Subjects, but

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but also why the same Man should alter his Sentiments on the same Head in different Times of Life.

There are other Reasons assigned by our Author for the Instability of philosophick Judgments: The last of them is, The Objects they consider, are disproportionate to their Faculties. One Man may have much better Eye-sight than another; so it is as to the Capacities of Men, they may, they do differ exceedingly; but still all human Capacities are finite. They serve perfectly well for our daily Occasions; they enable us to feed ourselves properly, to provide warm Cloathing, to erect convenient Dwellings, and to form Societies for our own Conveniency, as well as Safety. But when we push our Inquiries beyond useful Points, we acquire sometimes Notions we take for Knowledge, but in the End they prove only Chimæra's. It is true, that Geography, Astronomy, Navigation, and many other Branches of Science, flatter Mens Minds with the pleasing Ideas of universal Comprehension; but this arises from our own Vanity, from our fixing our Attention wholly on what we see, and neglecting what is hid from us; since in all these Arts, there are many Things we know but imperfectly, and not a few, of which we know nothing at all.

But, as our Author adds, supposing these and all other Sciences could be attained in Perfection by Mankind, how short do these fall of the Wisdom necessary to frame and govern the Universe? Yet to this, those who have reasoned in favour of unbounded Thought, have eagerly pretended, and expected as profound Submission, as if in reality they had been present when Nature was in Labour, and had seen all things in their first Forms.—However, even to these Doubts will occur; for the Mind contemplating in one Light, sees Grounds of Satisfaction, and yet, when it examines the same Object in another, new Phænomena being discovered,

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vered, — it perceives that utter Incapacity it is under, of accounting for all the Works of infinite Wisdom and Power. Such is the Condition of Man, that while he employs his Reason for useful Purposes, he finds it a clear, strong, and every way sufficient Light; but when he endeavours to exceed his Sphere, when he would become more than a Man, when he emulates the next Order of reasonable Beings, and seeks the Privilege of Angels, his Reason deceives him, he sickens like *Phaeton* at the Appearance of celestial Light, and tumbling from on high, teaches, by his hapless Fall, more Caution unto others. It is very possible, our Author says, that Libertines may think of opposing to this Way of Reasoning Matters of Fact. He is ready to join Issue with them upon this Head; and to convince them how little that is like to prove for the Advantage of their Cause, he briefly runs over the History of the most eminent Free-thinkers, ancient and modern, and remarks their Want of Steadiness, Fortitude, and Constancy, their frequent Desertions of their own Principles, and their sinking in Conduct below even the ordinary Race of Mankind, whom they affect so much to contemn.

He begins with *Epicurus*, the most celebrated Free-thinker of Antiquity, and proceeds successively to *Lucretius*, *Petronius Arbiter*, *Jerome Cardan*, *Jordanus Brunus*, *Lucilio Vanini*, and, finally, *Spinosa*. I will mention a few of those Particulars which make up his Account of these famous Infidels.

With regard to *Epicurus* he tells us, that he has read the principal Admirers of his Philosophy, and owns they have fully cleared him of the Calumnies of his Enemies; but that, notwithstanding, it is certain he was quite a different Person from what his own Disciples thought him, and these modern Apologists represent him; far from being himself a happy

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happy Man, or capable of inſtructing others in the Art of arriving at true Happineſs.

He foreſaw the Pleaſures of his Garden would be imbittered, if his Scholars amuſed themſelves with any Conſiderations about their future State; he therefore taught, that Death was the abſolute Period of human Being, and that the Gods meddled not in the leaſt with the Affairs of Mankind. But this, our Author ſays, was teaching what could not anſwer his End of preventing Doubts and Fears; for, *firſt*, this was a Doctrine which would not bear examining; and, *ſecondly*, it left Men under the Dominion of *blind Chance*, inſtead of a *wiſe Providence*, which was ſurely a bad Exchange, and a very odd Way of procuring Quiet. If his Diſciples believed this, they muſt daily expect to ſee the Firmament crack, the Sun loſe half his Light, their Gardens hoiſted into ſavage Mountains, or covered by invading Seas. Theſe are all fit Works of Chance. But they lived chearfully and merrily, and therefore certainly they did not believe it: How then were they Philoſophers? Or how did their Maſter's Wiſdom (as he and they loudly boaſted) deliver them from Fear? Inſtead, therefore, of owing their Felicity to *Free-thinking*, theſe *Epicureans* muſt be indebted for what they enjoyed, to their not thinking at all.

But, further, *Epicurus*, who made ſo free with all Authority whatſoever, who would ſubmit neither to univerſal Reaſon nor Experience, was, himſelf, extremely dogmatical, and would bear not the leaſt Contradiction. His *Ipſe dixit* was the Meaſure and Boundary of Science. Was *Epicurus* ſkill'd in Free-thinking? if he was, as our Author ſays, then the only way to prevent Confuſion, and ſecure Happineſs, is to eſtabliſh a certain Scheme of Doctrines, (no matter whether true or falſe) and forbid all Examination or Diſpute about them, that is, exclude



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Free-thinking for ever, on the Word of one Free-thinker.

But to carry the Matter ſtill farther, and to prove Free-thinkers a reſtleſs ſort of People, our Author having, as he thinks, ſhewn, that implicite Faith was in *Epicurus*'s Opinion the ſole means of keeping up any Syſtem deduced by Free-thinking, he proceeds to prove, that this great Philoſopher was not a little irreſolute himſelf. He denied Providence, yet he worſhip'd the Gods, with all exterior marks of Fervency; nay, he carried this yet a greater Length, ſince among his numerous Writings, there were many Treatiſes of Devotion. What are we to think of all this? if we give Credit to his Doctrines, Prayer is nothing leſs than a Duty; if we yield any Faith to his Practice, then nothing appears of greater Importance. ——

As for *Lucretius*, our Author has the ſame Objections to him, as to his Maſter *Epicurus*; that is to ſay, he finds him viſibly uneaſy, unſteady, and inconſiſtent. He employs about ſeven Pages in the Proof of this Charge.

It is natural to mention next a Free-thinking Martyr: Such a one was *Petronius Arbiter*, one of the moſt applauded among the *Epicureans*, and eſpecially commended by the Moderns, as one ſuperior, while living, to all the Wits of his Time, and equal, in his Death, to *M. A. Seneca*, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Philoſophers. But in the midſt of theſe Praiſes, it is not denied, that he was the moſt inconſiſtent Man ever drew Breath. He had great Talents for Buſineſs, with a ſtrong Propenſity to Idleneſs; no-body better underſtood the Folly of being wicked, no-body ran deeper into Wickedneſs, than he. Abſurdity in Pleaſure his nice Taſte could not endure, but an immodeſt and luxurious Life hit this Taſte exactly. His Thoughts were often impious, rarely modeſt, but his *Latin* pure to a Proverb. To ſum up all, he thought

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thought the Day fit for nothing but ſnoring, for which Cauſe he indulged his Pleaſures during the Night.

There is a deal more which our Author alledges in Diſparagement of *Petronius*, and to ſhew with how little Reaſon he is ſet up to rival *Seneca* in the Article of dying.

Theſe three Free-thinkers which have been mentioned make ſo great a Figure amongſt thoſe of Antiquity, that our Author thinks he needs ſay nothing more on this Subject: But judges it very expedient, a few of the Moderns ſhould be run over, that it may be ſeen, Time has made no Alteration in this Matter, but that all Free-thinkers have continued uneaſy, inconſtant, vapouriſh, full of Flights, and in a word, perfect *Self-Tormentors*.

He begins with the celebrated *Jerome Cardan*: The rather, as this man, he ſays, methodized and ſuggeſted Arguments in ſupport of certain Notions which to this Day are Favourites with Free-thinkers; nay, are laid up among their *Arcana*, and are, when produced, held the higheſt Flights of human Intelligence, and irrefragable Bars againſt believing. With regard then to him, he firſt recounts a few Circumſtances of his Life (as they were recorded by his own Pen) and then goes on to conſider ſome of his extraordinary Opinions: his Hiſtory enlightening his Doctrines, as thoſe again appear to take Riſe from his Conſtitution or his Circumſtances; an Obſervation, he ſays, too often verified in the Broachers of new Notions or Revivers of ancient Hereſies.

There are many Singularities in our Author's Account of this philoſophical Coxcomb, but I have not room for their Recital; and for the ſame Reaſon I paſs over all he relates of *Jordanus Brunus*, *Lucilio Vanini*, and *Spinoza*. The Reader who would or needs to be acquainted with them, muſt have recourſe to the Original. I will conclude this Article with



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the Subſtance of thoſe Obſervations which, our Author ſays, naturally ſpring from theſe Men's Characters, and with which he ſhuts up this Treatiſe.

Firſt then, it ſeems to him plain, that none of theſe eminent *Free-thinkers* have done much Service to the World. *Epicurus* led with his Friends an indolent Life in his Gardens. *Lucretius* lived diſtracted, therefore he could not benefit Society. *Petronius* made a Figure, as a Man of Pleaſure, in the Court of *Nero*; but that was making no very amiable Figure in Life. *Cardan*'s whole Buſineſs was to abuſe others, and to defend himſelf from the Abuſes ſuch a Conduct induced. *Jordano Bruno* ran up and down the World, teaching the *Lullian* Art, and the reſt of his *Chimera's*. *Vanini* publiſhed nothing which can be called of *publick Utility*. And as for *Spinoza*, making Spectacles is the beſt thing we know of him.

But next, they did little or no Good to themſelves. This, he thinks, he has proved at large in the forepart of this Diſcourſe. Here he only ſays, that Imagination on the Stretch, boundleſs Speculations, everlaſting Doubts, and ever varying Ideas, are ſo great Additions to the inevitable Labours of human Life, and the Anxieties which neceſſarily attend it, that we need not ſtand amazed at the Perplexities of *Free-thinkers*, or pretend to wonder at their ſtepping now and then after *Lucretius*'s Mode into the other World. On the contrary, we ought rather to admire their Conſtancy when they decline this Remedy, and bear up againſt the *Storms* of Fortune.

Take them in any Light whatſoever, conſider their Lives, contemplate their Deaths, view their Doctrines, ſtill, as our Author goes on, there is nothing lovely in the Proſpect. Can we compare *Epicurus* to *Socrates*, or *Spinoza* to *Grotius*? can we, without departing from common Senſe, applaud the Lives of any of theſe Sages? If we cannot do this, why

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why ſhould we tread in their Steps? why adhere to a Plan we do not intirely approve?

It muſt be acknowledged, that this Scheme is very captivating in its firſt Appearance, becauſe it promiſes to exalt us in a manner above our Species; but then, if we want Penetration enough to diſcern the Fallacy of ſuch Promiſes, our Author would have us reflect on the Examples he has given, and by them learn to moderate our Thirſt for Science, and to direct our Inquiries, ſo as to obtain what is fit for us, rather than run on in endleſs Purſuits. Finally he ſays,

The genuine Ends of thinking, ſeem to be Peace, Eaſe, and Beneficence. In order to enjoy the firſt, we muſt fix our Notions in reſpect to our Being, its Source, Duration, and End of enduring, or, in other Words, our Duty towards God. By the ſecond, is to be underſtood the Poſſeſſion of whatever is neceſſary and convenient for that Part of our being, which is aſſigned us in this World. And by the laſt, is intended the Extention of our good Offices to our Brethren, or in the chriſtian Style, Works of Charity. A due Capacity for theſe things, is the ſupreme Happineſs of Man, that is, as Man, which includes an Idea of Imperfection mix'd with a Hope of ſhakeing it off.

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## ARTICLE IV.

*The Ruin and Recovery of Mankind: or, an Attempt to vindicate the Scriptural Account of theſe great Events upon the plain Principles of Reaſon. With an Anſwer to various Difficulties relating to original Sin, the univerſal Depravation of Nature, and the overſpreading Curſe of Death; general Offers of Grace to all Men, and the certain Salvation of ſome;*



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*the Caſe of the Heathen Nations, and the State of dying Infants. Whereto are ſubjoined three ſhort Eſſays,* viz. *The Proof of Man's Fall by his Miſery; the Imputation of Sin and Righteouſneſs; and the Guilt and Defilement of Sin.* London: *printed for* R. Hett *and* I. Brackſtone, *at the* Bible *and* Crown *in the* Poultry. 1740. *Octavo. Pages* 432, *beſides ſome Appendages.*

THere has been a great deal of Diſſention among Chriſtians, concerning the Points above mentioned. Every one has heard of the Quarrels thereon, between the *Orthodox* and *Pelagians* of old; and between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians* of later Days. All Parties have pleaded Scripture, and, the truth is, all Parties have ſeemed to be countenanced thereby. Some, in the mean time, without pretending to impeach Revelation, have thought theſe Doctrines to be myſterious and inexplicable Matters, which we are not in the leaſt concern'd to inquire about; while others have taken Occaſion therefrom to diſpute the Inſpiration of the ſacred Writings, judging that Book could never come from God, which was ſo equivocal as to favour diametrically different Tenets. Some again, who have a Veneration for the Bible, have grievouſly perplexed themſelves in reconciling the Paſſages of it, relating to theſe Heads, which apparently contradict one another; ſome who would not reject that Rule of Faith, have made a ſhift to model or gloſs over thoſe Texts which look calviniſtically, ſo as to reconcile them tolerably with the *Arminian* Scheme; and others have looked upon that as a vain Attempt, and firmly perſuaded of the *Calviniſm* of Scripture, have conſidered that Circumſtance as a deciſive Proof of its Impoſture; ſeeing no Doctrine derived from God can claſh with our rational Notions of the Perfections

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fections of his Nature, as those usually termed calviniſtical plainly do.

I look upon our Author as one, who profoundly reverences the divine Oracles, who thinks them conformable to *Calvin*'s Principles, but who, at the ſame Inſtant, is ſenſible of the ſeeming Incongruity of theſe with the Ideas we uſually frame of the moral Attributes of the Deity; and therefore has here ſet himſelf to remove that *Opprobrium*, by finding out certain *Media*, whereby the real Conſiſtency of them therewith may be evinced. Let us ſee how he expreſſes himſelf to this Purpoſe in his Preface. He ſays,

" Amidſt the Darkneſs of our degenerate State, " God has been pleaſed to furniſh us with two Springs " of Light, to lead us into the Knowledge of our " own Miſery, and to direct us in the way to his Fa- " vour and our own Happineſs. Theſe are well known " by the Names of *Reaſon* and *Revelation*, i. e. the " *Reaſon* of *Man* and the *Revelation* of *God*.

" Right Reaſon is ever uniform and conſiſtent " with itſelf, and is the ſame in all Ages. 'Twas " given to Man at firſt, to teach him all that we " call natural Religion; and even now, in its di- " miniſhed Glory, it gives ſufficient Evidence of " our Ruin, and aſſures us feelingly of our univer- " ſal Degeneracy, our loſt Innocency and Peace: " It affords us alſo many Hints of the favourable " Condeſcenſions of divine Mercy, the Neceſſity of " our Repentance of Sin, and our Truſt in divine " Grace, in order to our Recovery.

" It is granted, that the Dictates of Reaſon a- " mongſt fallen Mankind, have been mingled with " a thouſand Prejudices, Weakneſſes, and Wan- " derings, with the Miſtakes of Fancy, and the Fol- " lies of Superſtition; and at beſt it has not been " found of itſelf practically ſufficient to inſtruct us " in all things that relate to our Soul's Salvation;



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" yet ſtill Reaſon is a Light given us by God himſelf,
" and it has very much to do in our Direction to-
" wards our preſent Duty and our final Felicity.

" But ſince our Reaſon is ſo defective both in its
" Diſcovery of our Ruin and our Reſtoration, God
" has been pleaſed to teach us in a more immediate
" manner by the Light of Revelation, and has given
" to Mankind early Diſcoveries of his Mind and
" Will before Scripture was written; and then, by
" *Moſes* and other Holy Writers, he has furniſhed
" them with a Knowledge of their original Apoſ-
" tacy from God, their Guilt and Wretchedneſs;
" and he has been ever ſince leading them onwards
" by different Steps or Degrees towards the full
" Diſcovery of his Will and their Salvation by
" Jeſus Chriſt the Mediator.

" And ſince the Revelations of God to Men have
" been ſo very early and various, and have been
" delivered to us by different Perſons and in diffe-
" rent Ages, there may be ſome Difficulties ariſing
" from this Variety, there may be ſome ſeeming In-
" conſiſtences between the ſeveral Parts of it, and
" ſome ſuppoſed Oppoſitions to the Light of Reaſon:
" Yet it is certain that the two only Lights which God
" hath favoured us with, in order to learn his Will
" and our Duty, can never contradict themſelves
" nor each other. There is not any one Part of di-
" vine Revelation which is really inconſiſtent with
" Reaſon, or with any other Part of Revelation it-
" ſelf. There is certainly a glorious Connexion and
" divine Harmony between them all, and all join
" together to make up one compleat Scheme, gra-
" dually advancing to Perfection, and terminating
" and centering at laſt in our full Recovery to the
" Favour and Image of God by the promiſed
" *Meſſiah* or Saviour.

" Now as the Revelation of God in an illuſtri-
" ous Manner ſupplies the Deficiences of our Rea-
" ſon,

" ſon, and enlightens our natural Darkneſs in the " Knowledge of divine things, ſo the Exerciſe of " our Reaſoning Powers is very neceſſary to aſſiſt " us not only in the underſtanding of the ſeveral " Parts of Revelation, but in reconciling them to " each other, as well as to the Dictates of right Reaſon. " 'Tis our Reaſon which ſhews us this bleſt Harmony.

" If I have been ſo happy as to ſet theſe Truths, " which Scripture has revealed concerning our " Miſery and the divine Mercy, in ſo favourable a " Light, as to make it evident to well diſpoſed and " impartial Readers, how far they are ſupported by " Reaſon itſelf, and to diſcover and maintain this " Agreement between theſe two different Manifeſta- " tions of God to Man, I have attained my End: " If I have been enabled in any Meaſure to render " thoſe Sacred Truths more intelligible and more " credible to the ſincere Inquirers after Truth, and " to relieve the divine Revelations of Scripture a- " gainſt the Cavils of an Age which greatly pre- " tends to Reaſon, I ſhall account my Labour well " employed.

" The Deiſt will have no longer Cauſe to tri- " umph in the Aſſurances of his Attacks againſt " Scripture, nor ſhall the Chriſtian want Matter " for his Satisfaction and Joy, when he ſees his di- " vine Religion vindicated by the Powers of Rea- " ſon.

" My chief Deſign, and that which has regu- " lated all my Meditations and Reaſonings, is to " eſtabliſh and confirm what appears to me to be " plain Matter of Fact in the ſinful and miſerable " Circumſtances of all the Children of *Adam* by " Nature, and their Hopes of Recovery by divine " Grace, ſo far as either the Light of Nature or " Scripture would aſſiſt me; and to vindicate the " moral Perfections of God, his Holineſs, Juſtice, " and Goodneſs in his Works of Providence and " Grace,

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" Grace, or in his whole Government of the " World."

Our Author's Scheme is laid, as he tells us, in the *original Rectitude* of Man, and his early *Degeneracy* into Sin and Misery; and he imagines he has drawn, from the meer Light of Nature, sufficient Proof and Evidence of both these. Some Opinions he has adopted, which are supposed to be borrowed from the common Schemes of *orthodox* Writers, but he desires they may not be at once renounced with Contempt and Disdain, by an Age which is fond of Novelty and Reasoning: For he says, " Perhaps there may be some Reasonings " here brought to support them, which have not " been set in a clear and full Light by former " Writers; and notwithstanding their *old-fashioned* " Appearances, these may be found to be di- " vine Truths." On the other hand, if any new Thoughts are started, they ought by no means to be rejected on that Account: The Author may be forgiven, who has sometimes, as he says, entered into an untrodden Path, not willingly, but he has been constrained to it, in order to solve such Difficulties as we have never yet seen relieved, to the general Satisfaction of Men, by all the usual and common Tracks of Argument.

Neither *Novelty*, nor *Antiquity* of Opinion, as he adds, can make any certain *Pretences* to Truth, nor can they be esteemed just *Prejudices* against it: As there are many divine Truths, which have been known and acknowledged from all Antiquity, so there are others, which have never been seen in their full Force and Perspicuity since the Days of our Saviour and his Apostles; there are some sacred Verities, which have had much Darkness diffused around them by early Corruptions of the Faith, and by the Controversies of succeeding Ages; and these stand in need of some further Light to dissipate that

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that Darkneſs, and reſtore them to their primitive Perſpicuity.

Our Author propoſes his Thoughts to the World, in the Treatiſe now before us, in hope to clear up ſome Difficulties in our holy Religion, and to ſhew how far our own Reaſon may ſupport what Scripture reveals. — He ſubmits his Sentiments to the Publick; he will not perſuade any Man to be of his Opinions, till he is convinced of the Truth of them; and whenever he ſees Cauſe, he will change them himſelf. He does not poſitively aſſert or affirm ſeveral Things which he has here written, for he knows himſelf a weak fallible Creature, and it is no Wonder if he ſhould fall into Miſtakes. He will be glad to ſee a ſafer and more conſiſtent Scheme on theſe Subjects propoſed to the World, which may rectify all the Errors of his with convincing Evidence, and ſcatter our Darkneſſes like a riſing Sun.

This Volume contains, after an Introduction proving the original Rectitude of human Nature, a Solution of Sixteen Queries, which cloſe with a Repreſentation of the Advantages of the Author's whole Syſtem, and an Appendix, of three Eſſays. The Queſtions are theſe following:

I. Is Man, in his preſent Circumſtances, ſuch a Creature as he came out of the Hands of God his Creator? Or is he depraved and ruined by ſome univerſal Degeneracy of his Nature?

II. How came this general Degeneracy, Vice, and Miſery, to overſpread Mankind in all Nations, and in all Ages?

III. How could a holy, a wiſe, and righteous God, who is alſo a Being of infinite Goodneſs, eſtabliſh ſuch a Conſtitution, that all Mankind ſhould derive their Being from ſuch a natural Parent and legal Repreſentative, whereby ſuch univerſal Sinfulneſs and Miſery ſhould, in the Event, be

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be ſpread through all human Nature in all following Ages?

IV. But has it not an Appearance of Injuſtice, in the Creator and Governor of the World, to make ſo many Millions ſuffer for the Sin of One?

V. Tho' the Juſtice of theſe Tranſactions may be granted in ſome meaſure, where the Repreſentative is choſen by the actual and free Conſent of all thoſe whom he repreſents; yet, ſince this was not the Caſe between the firſt Man and all his Poſterity; ſince they never conſented that he ſhould act for them, nor ever intruſted him to paſs the Trial in their ſtead, therefore, why ſhould they fall under the Penalty and Miſery due to his Folly and Guilt?

VI. Man is a Creature made up of two diſtinct Parts, Soul and Body: Now if both theſe were derived from the Parents by a natural Propagation, then all Mankind may be ſaid to derive their vicious Appetites, and Paſſions, and ſinful Inclinations from their firſt Parent, which had corrupted and ſpoiled his own Nature by Sin: But ſince it is generally agreed, that the Body is only propagated from the Parents, but the Soul of every Infant is immediately formed by God himſelf, and united to the Infant-body; how is it poſſible that the Soul ſhould be defiled with ſinful Principles, and partake of vicious Inclinations, when 'tis only the Body that properly comes into the World by Generation?

VII. But if we allow, that it is poſſible the new created Soul ſhould be thus corrupted, yet is it agreeable to the Juſtice, or Wiſdom, or Goodneſs of God to create ſo many Millions of Souls pure, innocent and holy, as they muſt be in their own Natures, coming from the Hands of God, and to unite them immediately to ſuch Bodies, derived from ſinful Parents, and infected with vicious Ferments and Appetites, whereby they are ſo early and almoſt

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moſt unavoidably led into ſinful Practices, and defiled thereby?

VIII. Suppoſe it were granted, that this Repreſentation of Things would in a great Meaſure account for the univerſal Deluge of Sin and Miſery, which has overſpread Mankind, yet what Reaſon have we to believe it to be true? Does the Word of God, which is our trueſt and ſafeſt Guide, give us the ſame Repreſentation of Things, or ſupport this Scheme?

IX. What can the Light of Nature diſcover concerning the proper Penalty due to the Sin of Man, or the proper Puniſhment inflicted on Man for Sin?

X. What can the Reaſon of Man, or the Light of Nature find out concerning the Recovery of Man to the Favour of God? Or what Hope of Pardon and Happineſs can ſinful Mankind ever obtain by the mere Exerciſes of their own Reaſon?

XI. What does Scripture reveal to us concerning the Puniſhment due to Sin? Or what are we to underſtand by that Death which, the Scripture tells us, was threaten'd to Man as the Penalty due to the firſt Offence, or as it is inflicted on Mankind on the Account of Sin?

XII. What does the Holy Scripture reveal concerning the Recovery of Mankind from the Sin and Miſery of that Eſtate, into which they were brought by the Diſobedience of *Adam*? And how far does this Recovery reach, both with regard to the Perſons recovered, and with regard to the Degrees of their Recovery?

XIII. How far has the glorious Undertaking of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* provided any Hope of Salvation for thoſe, who were not eternally choſen, and given into the Hands of *Chriſt* to be redeemed and ſaved?

XIV. Can

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XIV. Can the different Opinions of *Chriſtians* concerning the Operations of Divine Grace on the Souls of Men be reconciled?

XV. What is the State and Condition of the *Heathens*, who have never heard of the Goſpel; or have utterly forgot, and loſt all Notice of it?

XVI. What will be the State and Condition of that large Part of Mankind, who die in Infancy, under any of the Diſpenſations of the Covenant of Grace?

Of the three Eſſays which make up the Appendix to theſe Queries and their Anſwers, the *firſt* is, a Debate, whether the preſent Miſeries of Man alone will prove his Apoſtacy from God. The *ſecond* is, a plain Explication of the Doctrine of imputed Sin and imputed Righteouſneſs. The *third* is, on the Guilt and Defilement of Sin, with an Inquiry how far they may be transferred to others.

Theſe Queries compriſe almoſt the whole Scheme of Providence towards Man, in his moral Capacity. I will, as Opportunity offers, give the Reader the beſt Idea I can, in a few Words, of our Author's Solution of them. To begin:

In the Introduction he proves Man to have been created upright, from our natural Ideas of the Juſtice and Goodneſs of God. From the Conſideration of theſe he evinces the Truth of the enſuing Propoſitions.

I. Man muſt have been endowed with a *Perfection of natural Powers, both of Body and Spirit*, conſidered as in a State of Union, and ſuited to his preſent Circumſtances. Not that we are to ſuppoſe he ſhould be made ſo perfect a Being as God could make him; for the Divine Wiſdom plainly deſigned to diſplay its unbounded Varieties of Contrivance in different Ranks and Orders of his Creation: Nor can we reaſonably imagine he ſhould be made with ſuch ſublime Perfections at firſt, as he himſelf might afterwards arrive at by a wiſe Improvement of

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of his Powers. But ſtill he muſt have Powers perfectly ſufficient for his preſent well-being and acting in that Station wherein his Creator placed him. Under this Head our Author ſhews, that he muſt have been formed in a Condition of perfect Eaſe, without any natural Tendency in his animal Body to Pains, Diſeaſes, or Death, while he remained innocent; that his intellectual Faculties and moral Diſpoſitions muſt be ſuitably excellent; his Reaſon clear, his Judgment uncorrupted, his Conſcience upright and ſenſible, his Will propenſe to Holineſs and Virtue.

II. Tho' Man might be made with a perfect Freedom of Will, that ſo he might be put in a State of Probation; yet it ſeems neceſſarily to follow from the Juſtice and Goodneſs of God, that he ſhould not only have a ſuperior Propenſity to Righteouſneſs implanted in him, but alſo a *full Sufficiency of Power to preſerve himſelf in this State of Obedience and Love to his Creator.*

III. It is highly probable from the Goodneſs of God, that ſuch a Creature would be privileged with *Powers to arrive at higher Degrees of Excellency and Happineſs*, than thoſe with which he was at firſt formed.

IV. The Habitation of ſuch an innocent and holy Creature, ſhould be *a very beautiful and magnificent* Building, furniſhed with all manner of Neceſſaries, Conveniencies, and Delights of Life.

V. If this Creature had Power to propagate its own Kind, the Child ſhould be innocent and holy, and capable of maintaining its Duty and Happineſs as well as the Parent.

Now, ſays our Author, if theſe are the Qualifications with which ſuch a new-made Creature ſhould be endued, and theſe the Circumſtances in which our Reaſon would judge from the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs of God, that he ought to be ſituated; then

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then by a careful Survey of what Mankind now is, and a Compariſon thereof with the foregong Repreſentation, we may arrive at ſome Determination, whether Mankind is at preſent ſuch a Creature as God originally made him: which is the Subject of the enſuing Enquiry, or firſt Queſtion, *viz. Is Man in his preſent Circumſtances ſuch as he came out of the Hands of his Creator? Or is he depraved and ruined by ſome univerſal Degeneracy of his Nature?*

For the Reſolution of this Point, our Author obſerves, *Firſt*, That this Earth carries with it ſome evident Tokens of Ruin, and does not ſeem to be ordained in its preſent Form and Circumſtances, for the Habitation of innocent Beings; but is more apparently fitted for the Abode of Creatures, who are degenerated and fallen from God. To make good this Poſition, he takes a Survey of the terraqueous Globe; he remarks how broken and irregular the Surface of it is; how diſpoſed the Parts and Appendages of it are to effect the Miſery and Extinction of the Inhabitants: "What vaſt fractured "Mountains hang frightfully over the Heads of "Travellers? What ſtupendous Cliffs and Pro-"montories riſe high and hideous to behold? What "dreadful Precipices, which make our Nature gid-"dy to look down, and are ready to betray our "Feet into Downfalls and Deſtruction? What im-"menſe Extents of waſte and barren Ground in "ſome Countries? What hideous and unpaſſable "Deſarts? What broad and faithleſs Moraſſes, "which are made at once both Deaths and Graves "to Travellers, who venture upon them? What "huge ruinous Caverns of frightful Aſpect, deep "and wide, big enough to bury whole Cities?" In the like Strain our Author expatiates on many other Circumſtances, which he regards as ſtrong Indications of our Earth's being deſigned for a Dwel-

"ling

ling of ſome unhappy Beings, who did or would tranſgreſs the Laws of their Maker, and deeply merit Deſolation from his Hand; ſuch as Deluges, tremendous Waterfalls, Vulcanos, Earthquakes, Lightning, and Hurricanes. Theſe ſeem, he ſays, to be evident Tokens of the actual Diſpleaſure of God againſt the Inhabitants of this Globe. "Nor "can we ever ſuppoſe, that an infinitely good and "gracious Being would have originally ſo formed "and governed the inanimate Parts of this lower "World, as to produce ſuch deadly Concuſſions "and ſuch deſolating Appearances, if he had not "deſtined it to be the Habitation of ſuch Crea-"tures, as he foreſaw would become Rebels againſt "their Creator, and deſerve the Strokes of his In-"dignation.

II. In the next Place, our Author takes a View of the vegitable Productions of our Earth, together with the brute Animals that live on the Face of it, and in theſe he finds Reaſons to conclude, that MAN is by no means ſuch a Creature, ſo innocent, and ſo much a Favourite of Heaven, as he muſt needs be when he came firſt out of his Maker's Hands. The poiſonous Plants, ſpringing up here and there, without any ſufficient Diſtinction, that Man might know how to avoid them; the Abundance of Briars, Thorns, Thiſtles, and various Weeds, which almoſt every Soil produces, and which are ſo deſtructive to Corn, the Food of Man, and create ſo much Vexation to the painful Tillers of the Field; the ungovernable and reſiſtleſs Beaſts of Prey, and Fiſhes of the Deep, which ſo often tare and devour the human Race, the Panthers, Leopards, Sharks and Crocodiles, all afford Arguments of the Degeneracy of Man, and the conſequent Diſpleaſure of Heaven. Our Author proceeds, and infers the ſame from the many Tribes of the Serpent and Viper-kind, armed with deadly Venom to bite



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and kill Man; from the immenſe Flights of Locuſts, which lay the Fields deſolate; from the winged Armies of Hornets and Muſcatoes, that make the fineſt Countries almoſt intolerable, by the inceſſant Attacks they make on the People with their painful Stings; from the innumerable Hoſts of Caterpillars, which in a Night or two turn a Garden into a Deſart.

To what our Author has ſaid upon theſe Heads, it may, he owns, be objected, "That theſe Miſchiefs of the animal and vegitable World might be permitted for the Trial even of innocent Man in a State of Probation; eſpecially ſince it is certain, good Men are liable to the malevolent Influences of them during their Situation here, which is a State of Trial; but God can reward the Sufferers in a future State, which accounts for his permitting them to be thus expoſed at preſent." To this he anſwers,

*Firſt*, There is a great Difference to be made between innocent Creatures in a State of Probation, and ſinful Creatures in the ſame State. Theſe painful Events, which now fall upon degenerate Man, would have been all righteous, whether they had been in a State of Trial or no: But moſt of them plainly declare the puniſhing Hand of God as well as the Probation of Creatures, and therefore it ſuppoſes them not to be innocent. Whereas if theſe Plagues had abounded in an innocent World, the Inhabitants would ſcarcely have found ſufficient Cauſe to rejoice in their Condition, or to thank their Maker, as every innocent Being would ſurely have Occaſion and Reaſon to do.

*Secondly*, The State of Probation for innocent Creatures would not have included in it a lingering painful Death, ſuch as flows from ſome of the forenamed Plagues and Miſchiefs upon the Earth. Our Dying is ſuppoſed by *Moſes* to be a Curſe of God

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for the Sin of Man: And when once Life is forfeited, and the whole human Race devoted to Death by ſome univerſal Degeneracy, then a painful Death may properly become a Part of the farther Trial of ſuch Creatures who are to riſe again: And any who are pious Sufferers among them, may be rewarded by a happy Reſurrection.

Upon the whole therefore he pronounces, ſuch Evils do not ſeem to be made for a World of innocent and intellectual Beings, to vex and diſturb, to poiſon and deſtroy them.

III. The Manner of our Introduction into Life and Being in this World, is another Proof that we are not the innocent Favourites of Heaven. Can we ever imagine the good God would have appointed intellectual Animals to be propagated in a way that ſhould neceſſarily give ſuch exquiſite Anguiſh to the Mothers who produce them, if we had all been accounted in his Eyes a Race of ſinleſs Beings? And if the Crime had not been univerſal, why ſhould ſuch acute Pangs attend almoſt every female Parent?

IV. It may be conſidered, how the generality of Mankind are preſerved in Life, *viz.* by hard Labour of the Body, and grievous Fatigue of their Joints, Limbs, and all their natural Powers. Tho' ſome very few may be exempted from ſuch Toils and Hardſhips, yet vaſtly the Majority, as our Author very pathetically ſets forth, make a hard ſhift, even in the moſt plenteous Countries, to keep out Famine and ſupport their wretched Exiſtence. Their whole Time is devoured with the Labours of the Fleſh, and their Souls ever beſet and almoſt eaten up with gnawing Cares and Anxieties to anſwer this important Queſtion, *What ſhall I eat, and what ſhall I drink*, even in the pooreſt and coarſeſt manner? "But if we ſend our Thoughts to the ſultry "Regions of *Africa*, the Froſts and Snows of *Nor-*



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" *way*, and the Rocks and Deſarts of *Lapland*
" and *Northern Tartary*, what a hideous and
" frightful Thing is human Life in thoſe Climates!
" How is the rational Nature of Man loſt between
" their Slavery, their Brutality, and their inceſſant
" Labours and Diſtreſſes! They are treated like
" Brutes by their Lords, and they live like Dogs
" and Aſſes, among Want, Hunger, Wearineſs,
" Blows and Burdens without End. Did God ap-
" point this for Innocents?

Here our Author taks notice, that ſome may alledge, there is a Pleaſure in eating and drinking, which compenſates the Pain of procuring our Food. But alas! as he ſays, can this ſhort Pleaſure of a few Minutes be ſuppoſed a full Recompence for the inceſſant Labours of Life? Does it bear any Proportion to the Length of Toil, Pain and Hazard, the tireſome Fatigues of our Spirits and our Limbs, wherewith the Proviſions of Life are procured?

V. If we reflect on the Character, Temper and Quality of Mankind in general, with regard to Religion and Virtue, we ſhall hardly perſuade ourſelves that theſe are Creatures who enjoy the Favour of their Maker, or who bear his Image, as his original and native Off-ſpring ought to do.

Here and there, 'tis owned, a few Perſons are reſtored to ſome Degree of Conformity with God, and are become his Children, by a divine Change of their Natures: But the Bulk of the World are of another Stamp and Character, and ſufficiently ſhew there is ſome ſinful and fatal Contagion ſpread thro' the Inhabitants of this Province of God's Dominion. Our Author here exhibits a diſmal Scene of the Ignorance, Impiety and Prophaneneſs of the human Species: He proceeds afterwards to obſerve, that,

VI. Not only thoſe who are grown up to mature Age, but even Mankind in its younger Years, before

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fore it is capable of proper moral Actions, discovers the Principles of Iniquity, and the Seeds of Sin. This abundantly appears by the Spite and Envy, the Malice and Rage, that by their Actions are sufficiently discovered to have taken Root in the Hearts of very Infants, as well as by the Crimes of Lying and Deceit, the Obstinacy and Perverseness, that blemish their After-years of Childhood. Nor can these vicious Propensities be imputed, as he says, to any Influence of Custom, Education, or Example, seeing they are visible in Children before they can take notice of any such Examples, or are capable of such Imitation: And he adds, that even in the best Families, where the greatest Advantages both of Example and Instruction are to be found, yet their Hearts naturally run astray from God. Our Author advances divers Particulars under this Head, which are confirmed by daily Experience.

VII. To give a yet fuller Confirmation of this Truth, that Mankind have a corrupt Nature in them, he would have us remark, That where Persons have not only been from the first piously educated, but have taken a religious Turn betimes, and sought after true Wisdom and Piety, they yet find within themselves sad and perpetual Hindrances to a Course of Holiness. And, as he notes a little afterwards, there is not a Man who may not mourn over himself in the Language of St. *Paul*, *O wretched Creature, Who shall deliver me* from this native Disorder, this inward Plague, these evil Propensities of my Nature?

VIII. It may be further argued, that Man is a fallen Creature, because he is so far infeebled or corrupted, that he has not a *ready and practical Power* to perform the Law of his Maker, which, however, continues to be written in his Heart by Nature. Under this Article our Author offers to de-



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monſtrate, that the *moral* and *practical* Powers of Man, in the preſent State, are by no means proportionate to the Law of God, and to his Duty, but vaſtly inferior to them. "Now, ſays he, would "a wiſe, a juſt, and a merciful God have formed "ſuch intellectual Beings originally in ſuch a "wretched Eſtate, that their Powers ſhould be ſo "much below their Duties, that they break his "Law continually, and it may be ſaid, that what-"ſoever *natural* Faculties they have, yet they have "not a *practical Sufficiency of Power* to perform "it?"

IX. Another Proof of the Fall of Mankind is this, that they do not only lie under the aforeſaid Incapacities, but alſo evidently ſuffer under God's actual Diſpleaſure, which could not be their primæval State. Here our Author lays before us a brief Survey of the Miſeries of the human Race, that we may ſee whether they look like a Claſs of Beings, ſuch as their Creator made them. He bids us think of the Thouſands of rational Creatures deſcending hourly to Death and the Grave, ſome by a ſudden Stroke, but far the greater Part by ſlow and painful Approaches; of the Multitudes that are rack'd Day and Night, with extreme Torture, by the Gout and Stone, the Cholick and Rheumatiſm, and all manner of acute and painful Diſeaſes; of the diſmal Warfare and Bloodſhed, that have one Time or other overſpread all Nations; of the vaſt Numbers that are ſwallowed up in the mighty Waters, by the Rage of ſtormy Winds and Seas; of the immenſe Tribes that have been ſwept away by the Peſtilence, or have had their Nature and Life worn out by the tedious Agonies of Famine; that have been cruſhed into Miſery and Death in their own Dwellings by Earthquakes, or have had all their Bones bruiſed, their Limbs disjointed and broken, and their Fleſh batter'd by the Fall of Houſes, and been buried alive

alive in the Ruin of whole Towns and Villages, while their Neighbours have been ſwallowed up in Multitudes by the diſmal Eruptions of Fire and Water breaking out of the Earth. Let us ſurvey theſe Scenes of Horror, which I but juſt mention, and the many others on which our Author likewiſe expatiates, and then ſay, Would a God of Juſtice and Goodneſs treat innocent Creatures at this Rate, or expoſe them to theſe formidable Miſchiefs? Are theſe the Signals of their Maker's Love, or of their own original Virtue? Or does not this World, which is the Theatre of them, look like a Province half forſaken of its gracious Governour, and almoſt given up to Miſchief and Miſery? But,

X. Not only thoſe who are grown up in Iniquity, and may be ſuppoſed to be puniſhed for their own Sins, but even all Mankind in their earlieſt Moments are under ſome Tokens of the divine Diſpleaſure, before they are capable of being perſonal Tranſgreſſors. This our Author evinces by an affecting Detail not only of the Agonies that await our Birth but of the various Calamities that are afterwards incident to our infant Age, and from which, in one Degree or another, none of us are exempted. Theſe, as he notes, manifeſtly prove that we are not then treated as the innocent Creatures of a God of Love and Compaſſion, as young Favourites of Heaven, but rather as a little ſort of Criminals under ſome general Curſe and Puniſhment.

Some have pretended to account for the Calamities of Infants, by ſaying, that God rewards them ſufficiently in another State, for their Sufferings here. But againſt this our Author anſwers, That we are not warranted either by Reaſon or Scripture to aſſert, that all Children which die are taken to Heaven; that they are ſubject to no Pains hereafter, or that their Souls are not annihilated at Death; and



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upon any of these Suppositions there is no Recompence for the Pains they endure. Besides, Millions grow up, and if they should prove actually wicked, and be at last sent to Hell, what Compensation have they for their Infant *Maladies?* or shall it be said, that God punished them while they were Innocent, because he foreknew they would sin? neither Reason or Scripture suggests any such Idea of God's dealing with his Creatures. And yet further, as our Author asks, how, on this Scheme, can any Creatures know what they are punished for? And what wise or good End can this their Punishment obtain, when no Creature can know what they are punished for in their Infancy, if it be not for some universal Degeneracy of the whole Race?

XI. If we collect all these Scenes of Iniquity, Folly, and Wretchedness, even among the better sort of Men as well as the worst, in younger Years as well as in more advanced Age, and take a Survey of them in their total Sum, it is sufficiently evident that Creatures in such sinful and miserable Circumstances, are not such as came out of the Hands of their Creator, who is wise and righteous, holy and good. There is scarcely any thing in this Proposition, or our Author's Reasoning upon it, different from what has been afore advanced. Perhaps it was only thrown in to introduce the following Objection, with its Reply. Thus some may say, That this laying all Mankind under such a Charge of Guilt and Wretchedness without Exception, is more than our Experience will allow; 'tis acknowledged that many are now guilty and miserable, tho' they were born Innocent, but still a far greater Part have more moral Good than Evil in them, and have more Pleasure than they have Pain; and therefore upon the whole, Mankind must not be pronouced a *sinful and a miserable Being:* And if God has appointed such a Constitution as is best upon the whole, and is favourable

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to the Bulk of the World, this is ſufficient to vindicate the Juſtice of God, and then the few Sufferers have no Reaſon to complain. It is the Caſe under the beſt of human Conſtitutions, that ſome Perſons who were once Innocent will grow Wicked; and that even ſome innocent Perſons may be laid under unavoidable Hardſhips: yet all account thoſe to be juſt Conſtitutions, which provide for the Wellfare of the Generality, tho' here and there will be an unhappy Inſtance of Guilt and Miſery.

To this Objection our Author anſwers,

*Firſt*, To pronounce a Man miſerable, it is granted he muſt have more Pain than Pleaſure; but to pronounce him a Sinner, there is no Neceſſity that his moral Evil ſhould tranſcend his Good. If a Man had a hundred Virtues, one Vice in the ſight of God would make him a Criminal; one ſinful Action would break the Law of his Maker, and ſubject him to his juſt Diſpleaſure: ſo that all Men are certainly under this Condemnation, that they are Sinners every one of them; and, conſequently, expoſed to the Anger of him that made them. And thus with regard to their *Sinfulneſs*, our Author's Argument, he ſays, ſtands in full Force.

As for *Miſery*, even ſuppoſing that there are many Perſons whoſe Pleaſures exceed their Uneaſineſſes; yet 'tis certain there are great Numbers alſo whoſe Pains, juſtly compared with their Pleaſures, will appear by far to exceed them; and it is hard to ſay how this ſhould come to paſs, if Mankind were all Innocent and Happy by Nature, as they are now born into the World. Their univerſal Sinfulneſs therefore, and the Miſery of Multitudes, muſt conclude them all under ſome ſpreading Degeneracy.

*Secondly*, Although the Makers of human Laws are not able to frame ſuch Conſtitutions as ſhall certainly ſecure the Happineſs of all the Innocent, becauſe of their narrow Views of Things and of future

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ture Events; we must not think nor speak thus of the divine Law-giver, and the Governor of all Things. He grasps at once all Possibles as well as Futures in his present View, and can therefore guard against any Injury that might befall Innocent Beings; nor will divine Justice suffer any Mischief to light upon any single Individual without equal Recompence; for *the Judge of all the Earth will do right.*

*Thirdly*, Tho' the Bulk of Mankind in the present Constitution of Things could be proved to be Happy, by their Pleasures exceeding their Pains, yet this gives no manner of Satisfaction, if any one Individual suffers Misery under the same Constitution without Demerit.

XII. To give a little further Force to this Argument: After the Survey of all these Miseries, let us consider what low and sordid Pleasures the Bulk of Mankind are in pursuit of, to relieve them under this Train of Wretchedness, and then ask, whether these are suited to a Race of Intelligent and Innocent Creatures. Here our Author first casts a Glance at the Sports of Children, from five to fifteen Years of Age, which have nothing in them becoming our Ideas of young Angels dress in Flesh and Blood; not to mention the early Iniquity that appears to be mingled with them. He next takes a View of the Delights of Men, which he shews to be in great measure either foolish and irrational Satisfactions, or downright sinful. He closes his Detail of them with this Reflection, That if we take a due Survey of the very Pleasures of the Mass of Mankind, as well as of their Sorrows, we may learn from thence, that we are by no means such Creatures as our Creator made us; but that there is some great and universal Degeneracy spread over all the Generations of Men.

XIII. One more Proof of the general Ruin and fallen State of the human Nature is, our Posting to the Grave, and an invisible future World, which we

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we profeſs alſo to believe, and yet hardly taking any Care, or being in the leaſt ſolicitous about this great and awful Event. After expatiating upon this Head, and recapitulating the Subjects that have been now inſiſted on, our Author aſks leave to make one Remark, and that is "on the Unreaſonableneſs of denying this Doctrine of the univerſal Depravity of Mankind, and renouncing it in every Degree, when it appears ſo evident to our Senſes, and to conſtant Experience in ſo many thouſand Inſtances."

And what, he aſks, is the chief Temptation that leads ſome Men to this? only becauſe they cannot ſatisfactorily account for ſome of the Difficulties attending it. Many of the Heathen Philoſophers believed it, from their daily Survey of Mankind, though they were utterly at a loſs how to ſolve it: and ſuppoſing we ſhould labour under the ſame Inability, muſt we therefore deny what we ſee, and hear, and feel daily?

"Can we account for all the ſecret things in the "Creation of God, in the World of Meteors and "Minerals, the Vegitables of the Field, the Brutes "of the Earth, or the Animal Body of Man? does "any Man refuſe to believe the infinite Variety "of Plants and Flowers, in all their beauteous Co"lours and Forms grow up out of the ſame dark and "dirty Soil, becauſe he doth not know all the ſe"cret Springs of their Vegitation? do Men doubt "of the Truth of a Load-ſtone's drawing Iron to "itſelf, and making a Needle point to the North, "becauſe they cannot find out the way of its Ope"ration; are we not ſure that our Food nouriſhes "our Bodies, and Medicines relieve our Pains, tho' "we are utterly at a loſs to tell all the Ferments "and Motions of thoſe Atoms by which our Nou"riſhment is performed, or our Diſeaſes healed? "can we account for all the Darkneſſes, appearing "Difficulties and Confuſions among the Events of "Providence?

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" Providence? No, surely, we cannot pretend to " it: and yet since these Matters of Fact and E- " vents are obvious to all our Senses, do we refuse " to believe them, merely because we can't account " for the original and secret Causes or Reasons of " them? or because we cannot reconcile some Cros- " sing Appearances, and some Jarring Apprehensi- " ons that attend them? why then should this uni- " versal Degeneracy and Ruin of human Nature " be denied, tho' we cannot remove every Objecti- " on that attends it?"

And yet, our Author says, if we will search faithfully into the Springs of this Matter, so far as our natural Reason, aided by Revelation, will enable us, we may hope to find such a Solution of it, as will give a Degree of Satisfaction to humble Minds, tho' perhaps not sufficient to silence every curious and unreasonable *Cavil*. This is what he would furnish us with by his Answers to the *second*, *third*, *fourth*, *fifth*, *sixth*, *seventh*, *eighth*, and *ninth* of the forecited Queries. I may shortly give the Reader a Taste of his Disquisitions on these perplexing Topicks, as well as on others, near of Kin to them, which are included in the subsequent Questions. In the mean time we may perceive, by this Epitome of what he has offered relating to the first, upon what Principles he goes in resolving all that follow it.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE V.

*Thirty-six select Discourses Doctrinal and Practical, upon the most important Points of the* Christian Religion; *viz.* I. *The great Concern of a* future State *after the Dissolution of this World.* II. *The Excellency and divine Practice of celebrating the* Festivals *and* Fasts *of the Church of* England. III. *The true Principles of* Christian Obedience, *considered under the Articles of* Faith, Fear, Hope, *and* Love; *also the Order and Connection of our Saviour's* Beatitudes. IV. *The right Way to* Christian Perfection; *shewing the Obligations, Means, and Motives to a continued Progress and Perseverance in* Faith *and* Holiness. *In Two Volumes. By* SAMUEL JOHNSON, A. M. *Vicar of* Great Torrington *in* Devonshire. London: *Printed for* C. Rivington, *at the* Bible *and* Crown *in* St. Paul's Church-yard; *and sold by* N. Thorne, *Bookseller in* Exeter. 1740.

OUR Author presumes there is no Occasion of making any Apology for publishing Discourses on such weighty and important Subjects, as must be useful and seasonable at all Times, and cannot therefore be thought unseasonable, and will not, he trusts, be unserviceable in the present. The Design of them is to render the great Objects of Futurity more plain and familiar to the Minds of Christians, and to invite them to the Search and Study of such Truths as are worthy their Thoughts and Contemplation; such as will help to purify their Hearts, to strengthen and increase their Faith,

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to influence and regulate their Practice, to quicken their Zeal, and to engage their Attention to the awakening Calls and Workings of Povidence.

The Diſcourſes are plain and ſhort, and fitted for general Uſe; and to make them more ſo, he tells us, he has either wholly omitted, or but barely mentioned, ſome curious and diſputable Points that came in his way. He divides them into four Parts: In the firſt we have nine Sermons; three on the Burning of the World, from 2 *Pet.* iii. 11, 12. the fourth, on the Bleſſedneſs of them that die in the Lord, from *Rev.* xiv. 13. the fifth, ſhewing that perfect Happineſs is not to be expected, till the Number of God's Elect be accompliſhed, from *Heb.* xi. 39, 40. the ſixth, containing a Compariſon between the Things of Time and Eternity, from 2 *Cor.* iv. 18. the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth, ſetting forth the Joys and Glories of the heavenly State, from 1 *Cor.* ii. 9.

The ſecond Part comprehends the ſame Number of Sermons, all on ſolemn Occaſions: The firſt, proving our Saviour's Miſſion into the World to be the great Manifeſtation of God's Love to Mankind, from 1 *John* iv. 9, 10. The ſecond, on the Martyrdom of King *Charles* I. from *Rev.* ii. 10. The third and fourth, in *Lent*, on our Saviour's Faſting and Temptation in the Wilderneſs, from *Matt.* iv. 1, 2. The fifth, on *Good-Friday*, inſiſts on the Crucifixion of Chriſt, from 2 *Cor.* v. 21. The ſixth, on *Eaſter-Day*, exhibits to us the Scripture Proofs of Chriſt's Reſurrection, from *Acts* i. 3. The ſeventh, on *Aſcenſion-Day*, improving the Scripture Account of our Lord's Aſcenſion, which we have, *Luke* xxiv. 50—54. The eighth, ſetting forth the primitive Qualifications for receiving, and the Extent of the Benefits implied in, the Promiſe of the *Holy Ghoſt*, from *Acts* ii. 38, 39. The ninth, which is the laſt of the firſt Volume, on

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on *Trinity-Sunday*, contains the Doctrine of the Ever-bleſſed Trinity, from 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14.

The third Part includes the ſame Number of Sermons as the two former. In the firſt and ſecond our Reverend Author evinces Faith in Chriſt to be the principal Condition of Pardon and Salvation, by the Caſe of *Cornelius*, a *Roman* Centurion, as it occurs, *Acts* x. 43. In the third and fourth Sermons the Caſe of another *Roman* Centurion is repreſented, to ſhew the Preheminence of Faith above Works: The Text is *Matt.* viii. 10. The fifth ſets forth the Fear of God as the grand Preſervative againſt Sin, from *Prov.* xvi. latter Part of Ver. 6. The ſixth diſplays the Nature, Grounds, and Effects of Chriſtian Hope, from 1 *John* iii. 3. The ſeventh and eighth make it appear, that ſincere Obedience is the only ſure Token of being endued with the Love of God, from *John* xiv. 23. The ninth ſettles the Order and Connection of our Saviour's Beatitudes, from *Matt.* v. 1, 2, 3.

The firſt Sermon of the fourth and laſt Part points out the End and Deſign of *Chriſt*'s giving himſelf for us, with reſpect to Sin and Obedience, from *Titus* ii. 14. In the ſecond, we ſee the Obligations and Motives to aim at Perfection, from the Conſideration of *Chriſt*'s Death and Reſurrection, and of his being the great Shepherd of the Chriſtian Fold, from *Heb.* xiii. 20, 21. In the third, our Author endeavours to convince us of the Inſufficiency of mere Reaſon in Matters of Religion, and the peculiar Advantages of Chriſt's Doctrine, from *John* vi. 66, 67, 68. The fourth, fifth, and ſixth Sermons lay before us the Example of *Chriſt*, as a moſt powerful Means and Motive to Chriſtian Perfection, from *Matt.* xi. 29, 30. The ſeventh demonſtrates the Stability, Progreſs, and Perſeverance of Chriſtians to be the Fruit and Effect of divine Grace, from 1 *Pet.* v. 10, 11. The eighth

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eighth inculcates the neceſſary Principles of the Chriſtian Life, and the Obligation of Chriſtians to abound in the ſame, from 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 1. The laſt Sermon briefly ſtates the Nature, Meaſure, and principal Parts of Chriſtian Perfection, from 2 *Cor.* xiii. 11.

I ſhall not venture of myſelf to characteriſe theſe Diſcourſes; only ſay, that I am aſſured, ſome Perſons of conſiderable Figure in the Church have greatly commended their Perſpicuity and Conciſeneſs, and repute their Author a Gentleman of good Abilities and Learning. To epitomiſe the Subjects of them would require too great a Compaſs; and barely to mention the Heads of them, would be of little Uſe or Entertainment. I will endeavour, therefore, to give the Reader a general Idea of Mr. *Johnſon*'s Manner of handling them, of his Reaſoning and Stile, by one or two Extracts from the moſt curious of them. And certainly I cannot ſelect any more deſerving of that Title, than thoſe which he has placed in the Front of theſe Volumes, on the *Conflagration of the World*; a tremendous Event, in which every human Creature is concerned.

Mr. *Johnſon* introduces this Topick with ſome Reflections on the extraordinary Influence, which the frequent Conſideration of it would have on Chriſtians to mortify their Affections to the Things of this World, and to render them diligent, conſtant, and perſevering in the Proſecution of an everlaſting Felicity. In order to explain and enforce it, he conſiders, what the *Diſſolution of all Things* here mentioned does import; and then he ſhews, that we ought to be fully perſuaded of this univerſal Diſſolution, and that we ſhould take heed, that we be not deceived by thinking it at a great Diſtance off, but rather live in a conſtant Expectation of it, *looking for, and haſtening to, the Coming of the Day of God.*

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*God.* On the first of these Points he delivers himself in this Manner:

" What St. *Peter* means by *all these Things*, and " what by their being *dissolved*, he tells us in the " Verses before and after, namely, that *the Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise, and the* " *Elements shall melt with fervent Heat; the* " *Earth also, and the Works that are therein shall* " *be burnt up.* So that what our Saviour said to " his Disciples concerning the Buildings of the " Temple, *Seest thou these great Buildings? Verily,* " *I say unto you, there shall not be left one Stone* " *upon another, that shall not be thrown down*; so " may we say of this ancient Building of God, the " Fabrick of this material and visible World; " *Seest thou not all these Things?* The glorious Lu- " minaries above, the Earth and the Sea beneath, " the lofty Mountains and the lasting Hills, the " Forests, Woods and Groves, the stately Pa- " laces, beautiful Churches, magnificent Houses, " and all the Monuments of Fame and Antiquity: " There are none of these but will be made to bear " a Part in the general Dissolution, and either be " utterly dissolved themselves, or undergo violent " Convulsions, and great Disorder and Confusion. " For not only this terraqueous Globe, but the " heavenly Bodies themselves, shall be involved " in, or greatly suffer from this fiery Deluge. Our " blessed Saviour assures us, that *the Sun shall* then " *be darkened, and the Moon shall not give her* " *Light*; that the *Stars shall fall from Heaven*, " and that *the Powers of Heaven shall be shaken.* " St. *John* tells us, that *the Sun shall become black*, " *as Sackcloth of Hair, and the Moon become as* " *Blood.* St. *Peter* affirms, that *the Heavens shall* " *pass away with a great Noise*; by which, most " probably, he means the lower Regions, or the " Region of Air; and *the Elements shall melt with*



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" *fervent Heat.* By the *Elements* ſome underſtand " the *Planets*, which will then fall from Heaven, " and help to increaſe the Conflagration, and to " haſten the World's Deſtruction. For 'tis not to " be ſuppoſed, that the Burning of the Earth alone " will be ſufficient to dry up, and wholly conſume " all the Waters of the great Deep. The Fires " kindled on all the Shores, can't be ſuppoſed to " reach the Middle, or even the fourth Part, of " the vaſt extended Ocean: The Conſumption of " this, therefore, muſt be effected by other Means, " that is, by Fire coming down from Heaven, by " burning Planets driven from their Orbs, by the " Elements melting with fervent Heat, and by a " general Inflammation in the Region of the Air, " which is always filled, more or leſs, with fiery " Vapours and combuſtible Matter, and will then " be repleniſhed and ſupplied, like a Lamp with " freſh Oil, by a continued Succeſſion of new Va- " pours drawn from the Earth. Theſe, mixing " with the ſcorching Exhalations from below, will " *cover the Deep, like as with a Garment*, and, by " their united Force, drain and exhauſt the im- " menſe Waters of the wide Sea: For, when God " enters upon his ſtrange Work, and has this laſt " Controverſy with the Inhabitants of the World, " he will ſet the jarring Elements at War and Va- " riance with one another, and that of *Fire* ſhall at " laſt prevail over, and deſtroy and ſwallow up " the other three. For, *Behold*, ſays the Prophet " *Amos, God called to contend by Fire, and it de-* " *voured the great Deep, and it eat up a Part:* " And as Fire will devour the great Deep, ſo will " it burn up the Earth alſo, and all that therein " is; and as it will thus devour the Waters, and " burn up the Earth, ſo will it likewiſe conſume " the preſent Atmoſphere, or the Region of the " Air about us, that has been ſo much tainted and

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" infected by the poiſonous Breath of Sin. So that " the ſeveral viſible Parts of the Creation will be " involved all at once in circling and checquered " Streams of Smoke and Flames: For this is that " Day of Vengeance, that Day of the Lord ſo " often mentioned, and ſo fully deſcribed by the " Prophets, as *a Day of great Wrath, a Day of " Trouble and Diſtreſs, a Day of Waſteneſs and " Deſolation, a Day of Darkneſs and Gloomineſs, a " Day of Flouds and thick Darkneſs; a Day of " the Trumpet and Alarm againſt the fenced Cities, " and againſt the high Towers:* And, *I will bring " Diſtreſs upon Men*, ſays God, *that they ſhall " walk like blind Men, becauſe they have ſinned " againſt the Lord; and their Blood ſhall be poured " out as Duſt, and their Fleſh as the Dung: Nei- " ther their Silver, nor their Gold ſhall be able to " deliver them in the Day of the Lord's Wrath, " but the whole Land ſhall be devoured by the Fire " of his Jealouſy; for he ſhall make even a ſpeedy " Riddance of all them that dwell in the Land.* If " it be aſked, How, or by what means the Righ- " teous ſhall be preſerved in the Midſt of a burn- " ing World; or where they ſhall be at this Time? " I anſwer, with St. *Paul*, that before the World " is on fire, they ſhall be *caught up in the Clouds, " to meet the Lord in the Air*; and being there " placed out of the Reach, and above the Surges " of the fiery Deluge, they ſhall be made Specta- " tors of this amazing Scene of Ruin and Deſola- " tion, and ſee this grand Idol of Mankind con- " ſuming in the Fire of God's Indignation, break- " ing and tumbling in Pieces, like *Dagon* before " the Ark, and at laſt buried in its own Rubbiſh, " or reduced to a fiery Chaos. Of this, *Jeremiah* " gives us a lively Deſcription in the following " Words: —— *I beheld the Earth, and lo, it was " without Form, and void; and the Heavens,*

" *they had no Light. I beheld the Mountains, and*
" *lo, they trembled; and all the Hills moved lightly.*
" *I beheld, and lo, there was no Man, and all the*
" *Birds of the Heaven were fled. I beheld, and*
" *lo, the fruitful Place was a Wilderneſs, and all*
" *the Cities thereof were broken down at the Pre-*
" *ſence of the Lord, and by his fierce Anger.* But,
" then, this general Deſolation prevailing no far-
" ther than to the Sea, Earth, and Air, or lower
" Heavens; thoſe more diſtant Luminaries, the
" Sun, Moon, and Stars, will not partake of the
" ſame Fate, or ſuffer the like Diſſolution, but
" only undergo ſome frightful Changes and Alte-
" rations, become ſhaking and trembling, and co-
" vered with Darkneſs, to ſympathize, as it were,
" in this univerſal Conſternation and Confuſion of
" Nature. But the greateſt Confuſion and Con-
" ſternation will be in the Minds and Hearts of
" Men: When *Deſtruction upon Deſtruction* ſhall
" be cried, then Laughter will be turned to
" Mourning, and Joy into Heavineſs; then the
" *Merry-hearted will ſigh, every Houſe will be ſhut*
" *up, all Joy will be darkened, the Mirth of the*
" *Land will ceaſe: yea, all Hands ſhall faint,*
" *and every Man's Heart ſhall melt. They ſhall*
" *be amazed one at another, their Faces ſhall be as*
" *Flames, all Faces ſhall gather Blackneſs.* If
" they look to the Heavens, behold, fearful Sights
" and amazing Terrors; and if they look to the
" Earth, behold, Trouble and Sorrow, and Dim-
" neſs of Anguiſh; *they ſhall wait for Light, but*
" *behold Obſcurity; for Brightneſs, but ſhall walk*
" *in Darkneſs: Yea, they ſhall ſtumble at Noon-*
" *day, as if they had no Eyes; and be in deſolate*
" *Places, as dead Men. They ſhall war all like*
" *Bears, and mourn ſore like Doves; they ſhall*
" *look for Mercy, but there is none; for Salvation,*
" *but it is far off from them*; therefore ſhall their
" Hearts

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" Hearts melt for Fear and Trouble: *They shall* " *reel to and fro, and stagger like drunken Men,* " *and be at their Wits End.* They shall flee to the " Mountains, and climb upon the Trees, and come " down again to the Vallies beneath; but where- " ever they go, there is no Safety; and where " they seek for Refuge, they shall meet Destruc- " tion: For the very Powers of Heaven shall be " shaken, and threaten them with immediate Ven- " geance, and the Pillars of the round World shall " Tremble under them. For thus saith the Pro- " phet, *Fear, and the Pit, and the Snare are upon* " *them, O Inhabitant of the Earth; and it shall* " *come to pass, that he who fleeth from the Noise* " *of the Fear, shall fall into the Pit; and he that* " *cometh up out of the midst of the Pit, shall be* " *taken in the Snare; for the Windows from on high* " *are open, and the Foundations of the Earth do* " *shake. The Earth is utterly broken down, the* " *Earth is clean dissolved, the Earth is moved ex-* " *ceedingly. The Earth shall reel to and fro like a* " *Drunkard, and shall be removed like a Cottage;* " *and the Transgression thereof shall be heavy upon* " *it, and it shall fall, and not rise again.* From " which last Words we can't but observe, that the " meritorious Cause of all this wide Desolation, " and universal Ruin and Confusion, is the Sin of " Man. 'Twas this that caused the Destruction of " the old World by a Flood of Waters; and 'tis " for this that the World which now is, will be de- " stroy'd by Fire; 'tis this Part will set the Elements " at the greatest Variance with Mankind, and with " one and other, and arm all the Creatures of God " against them. For this the Sun shall be confounded, " and the Moon ashamed, and the Earth and the In- " habitants thereof abandon'd, and delivered up to " the Overflowing of the Curse?"

This is our Author's Explanation of the Doc- trine delivered in his Text, and makes the most



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conſiderable Part of his firſt Diſcourſe. I proceed to a ſecond Extract, taken from the third (and laſt) Sermon on the Burning of the World; where Mr. *Johnſon* lays before us the Grounds whereon we cannot but expect this great Change and Revolution: And theſe are, *Firſt*, The Frame and Age of the World. *Secondly*, The Signs of the Times. *Thirdly*, The Juſtice of God. *Fourthly*, The Progreſs of Sin. I ſhall quote him on the 1*ſt*, 2*d*, and 3*d* of theſe Heads.

With reſpect to the firſt he ſays, If we conſider the *Frame and Age of the World*, we ſhall ſee Reaſon enough to conclude, that it can't be of very long Continuance. "God foreſeeing "how much this World, and the Things of the "World would be abuſed by his Creatures, formed "and compoſed it of ſuch Materials, that it might "be capable afterwards of being conſumed by "Fire. As all Material Compoſitions are ſubject "to a Diſſolution, ſo ſeveral of the Materials of "which this World is compoſed, are of a Fiery "Nature, or Combuſtible Quality, and by a di-"rect Act of Providence, lodged here and there, "or at proper Diſtances from one another, in or-"der to communicate the Fire of the laſt Day to "the whole, and to every Part. There are at "this Day ſome *burning Mountains*, that have "continued burning more or leſs, for ſeveral Ages "ſucceſſively. And their Fire, perhaps, will not "be extinguiſhed, nor their Fewel exhauſted or "conſumed, before the general Conflagration; for "which they ſeem to be ordained by God, both "as Means or Inſtruments in that Deſolation, and "as rueful and laſting Memorials, to warn every "Generation of Men of the final Diſſolution of "all Things by Fire. At preſent their Force and "Power is, for the moſt part, limited and re-"ſtrained; but when 'tis inlarged, (as it will be

"at

" at laſt) they will then ſpread Deſolation far and " near. Now from the ſingle Conſideration of " theſe *burning Mountains*, (to mention nothing far- " ther) we have a great deal more Reaſon to won- " der, that the World has not all this while been " burnt up, than that it is to be conſumed by Fire " at laſt. Nor can we aſcribe its Preſervation in " this Reſpect, to any leſs Cauſe, than the graci- " ous and miraculous Interpoſition of Providence, " Limitting and Controuling the Force of theſe " ſubterraneous Fires, as he does the Current of " the great Deep, and ſaying to one as well as the " other, *hitherto ſhall ye come, and no farther*; till " the Time I have appointed for the full Exertion " of your Native Strength. And to this St. *Peter* " ſeems to refer, when he ſays, *the Heavens and* " *Earth are kept in Store, and reſerved to Fire, a-* " *gainſt the Day of Judgment.* By which he does " not obſcurely intimate, that they were at preſent " providentially preſerved from the Power of that " Fire, which is always ready to ſeize and devour " them; as the Waters ſoon overflowed the Earth, " when God took off his reſtraining Hand from " them. So that 'tis but for God to call forth, and " let looſe, thoſe Powers of Fire, that are lodged " in the Earth and the Air, and that now lie dor- " mant, and the World would ſoon be all in Flames. " Then, as to the *Antiquity* of the World, tho' the " World itſelf does not, like the Things upon it, " decay with Age, and is not the *more periſhing* for " being *Older*, but continues ſtill in the ſame State " and Situation, has the ſame lofty and laſting " Mountains, the ſame wide and extended Ocean, " and the ſame noted Rivers that it had in former " times, or ever ſince the Flood; yet God has de- " termined the Number of its Days, beyond which " it cannot paſs. There is a fix'd Period in the ſa- " cred Decrees of Heaven for the Time of its Diſ-



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" ſolution; ſo that the *Older* it grows, the nearer it " muſt be to its deſtined Fate. Upon which Ac- " count, *we* that live in the preſent Age, have more " Reaſon than any of our *Fore-fathers* had, to be " apprehenſive of its approaching Diſſolution.

*Secondly*, ſays our Author, If to the natural State and Age of the World we add the *Signs of the Times*, or the moral Evidences we have in this Caſe, we ſhall ſee further Cauſe to apprehend, that the Diſſolution of all Things cannot be at any very great Diſtance off. " A Man muſt have been a very care- " leſs Obſerver indeed of Things, Times, and " Perſons, that has not obſerved the great and vi- " ſible Decay of Chriſtianity, both in Principle " and Practice, for ſome Years paſt; a Decay ſo " general, ſo ſudden, and ſo unexpected, that it " is not, perhaps, to be *parallel'd* by any thing " we meet with, within the Compaſs of the ſame " Number of Years, from the Foundation of " Chriſtianity, to the Commencement of this great " Defection. Now *the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſly*, " not only that *in the latter Days ſome ſhall de-* " *part from the Faith*, but that there ſhall come " a *Falling away*, or a more general Apoſtacy; " which, whenever it happens, is to be a Warn- " ing to us of the near Approach of *Chriſt's* ſe- " cond Advent. It was under the *moſt corrupt* " State of the *Jewiſh* Church, that he made his " *firſt* Appearance in the World; and it will be in " the *moſt degenerate* State of Chriſtianity, that he " will appear a *ſecond* Time in Glory. The A- " bounding therefore of Iniquity, and the great " Decay of Chriſtian Piety, Faith, and Charity, " which are the more open Signs of theſe Times, " ſhould be ſo far from inclining us to follow o- " thers in their Defection from the Faith, or in " their Unconcernedneſs about Religion, that it " ought, on the contrary, to awaken our Atten-

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" tion, to excite our Zeal, and to haſten our Pre-
" parations, that ſo we may not at laſt be con-
" demned with the World.

*Thirdly*, ſays Mr. *Johnſon*, If to the Iniquity of the Times we join the Conſideration of God's *Juſtice*, we ſhall ſee another Reaſon for expecting the Revelation of *Chriſt* from Heaven. " 'Tis a general, and
" juſt Obſervation, that righteous and wicked Nati-
" ons, or publick Communities, are capable of being
" rewarded and puniſhed, *as ſuch, only in this Life.*
" And if this be the Caſe with reſpect to the ſeve-
" ral Nations of the World, it muſt be true like-
" wiſe in reference to the *World itſelf*, which is
" every Day growing more and more ripe for
" Judgment. And when the Meaſure of its Ini-
" quity is filled up, then will God pour out the
" full Phials of his Wrath upon it, and conſume
" it by a fiery Deluge, and make it a rueful Mo-
" nument of his juſt Vengeance and Indignation.
" For, as God ſpared not the old World, when the
" Wickedneſs of its Inhabitants was come to full
" Maturity, but deſtroyed it by a Flood of Wa-
" ters; ſo, when the Iniquity of the World that
" now is, ſhall be arrived at ſuch a Height and
" Degree of Provocation, as God has pre-ordained
" for its Extent and Fulneſs, he will then put an
" End to the Frame and Scene of Things, which
" has miniſtred ſo much Matter and Occaſion for
" his Creatures to rebell and ſin againſt him."

The next Diſcourſe, out of which I ſhall extract one or two Paſſages, is the fifth, upon *Heb.* xi. 39, 40. where our Preacher undertakes to prove, that *perfect Happineſs is not to be expected for the Saints, till after the Reſurrection of their Bodies.* He introduces his Subject in this Manner; " The Prone-
" neſs of Mankind to truſt in their own Righ-
" teouſneſs, and to imagine they have ſomething
" meritorious in themſelves, for thoſe little Services

" they

" they are enabled to perform; and their eager " Impatience to receive the promiſed Recompence, " when their Service is ended, is ſo great and ge- " neral, that God has thought fit to check and " reſtrain theſe ſanguine Hopes and forward Ex- " pectations, by deferring the Donation of a full " Reward till ſome conſiderable Time after their " Work is done. Were Chriſtians, upon their " Departure out of this World, to be admitted di- " rectly into the higheſt Heavens, into the Pre- " ſence and Palace of the great King, to the *bea- " tific Viſion of God*; as, on one hand, they would " be apt to flatter themſelves, that this State of " Glory was, in ſome meaſure, due to their De- " ſerts; ſo, on the other, they would find, that " the Scene of Glory would be too dazzling-bright, " for thoſe who are juſt eſcaped from a State of " Corruption and Mortality. Alas! There are many " Stages and Degrees of Purification, that the " Soul muſt paſs thro', before it can arrive at its " full Perfection, and be qualified to *behold the " Face of God.* Tho' St. *Paul* promiſed himſelf " *a Crown of Righteouſneſs* upon finiſhing his " Courſe; yet he did not preſume to expect it " *immediately after* he had finiſhed it; but only ſays, " that *henceforth* there was laid up for him ſuch a " Crown, and that this ſhould be given, or con- " ferred upon him *at that Day*, the Day of our " Lord's Appearing. After we have finiſhed our " Work, there muſt be a Time for *Reſt*; and " when this Seaſon of Reſt is ended, then is the " Time of *Enjoyment*: Therefore, as the ſame A- " poſtle declares elſewhere, *we have need of Pa- " tience, that after we have done the Will of God, " we may inherit the Promiſe.* When our Work " is done, there will ſtill be Occaſion for the Exer- " ciſe of Patience, in waiting for the promiſed " Reward; which Reward is not to be beſtowed,

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" till the whole Number of God's Elect ſhall be " fully completed; as is plainly and fully aſſerted " by the Apoſtle, where he expreſly affirms of the " ancient Fathers, whoſe exemplary Faith he had " been recommending to our Imitation, that *all* " *theſe, having obtained a good Report through* " *Faith, received not the Promiſes, God having* " *provided ſome better Thing for us, that they,* " *without us, ſhould not be made perfect:* i. e. Tho' " the Saints and Servants of God live in different " Ages, and depart out of this World at different " Times, they ſhall not be rewarded accordingly, " or in a diſtinct and ſeparate Manner, but receive " the promiſed Reward all together, at one and " the ſame Time; ſo that *we* without *them*, and " *they* without *us* ſhall not be made perfect." However, as the contrary Doctrine, *viz.* That the Righteous departing this Life are immediately received up into Heaven, was the general Opinion, or Perſuaſion of the laſt Age, and is ſtill, Mr. *Johnſon* ſays, too common and prevailing a Notion, he endeavours in this Sermon, to prove, from his Text, and ſome parallel Places of Scripture, that none of the Righteous have yet received the promiſed Reward, but are only enter'd into a State of Reſt, and partake of ſome lower Degrees of Happineſs, till the Time of the Reſtitution and Conſummation of all Things be fully come. And (2.) that when God has finiſh'd his Work, and completed the Number of Saints, he will then beſtow upon them jointly and fully the promiſed Inheritance.

As to the firſt of theſe Heads, the Apoſtle's Words in the Text are, our Author ſays, very expreſs and particular, that tho' the *Elders obtained a good Report through Faith*, yet they *received not*, or have not received *the Promiſe*. After illuſtrating this Paſſage, and ſhewing how directly it ſerves, together with the Context, for the Eſtabliſhment of his

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his Doctrine, he ſays, " There are no Intimations " in the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſta- " ments, much leſs any direct Teſtimonies, or ex- " preſs Aſſertions, that thoſe who have died in " Faith, have been bleſſed with the immediate Fru- " ition of God. On the contrary, all the ſacred " Writings, that ſpeak any thing of this Matter, " look directly the other way, and point at a dif- " ferent Seaſon of Retribution or Reward. The laſt " Day, the Day of the Reſurrection and final Judg- " ment, and the Day of Chriſt's ſecond Coming, " appears all along in Scripture to be *the Time* " allotted and predetermined by God, for crown- " ing the Righteous with Glory and Immortality. " 'Tis generally allowed now, that the Soul of our " bleſſed Lord himſelf did not go into Heaven, " while his Body lay in the Grave: 'Tis expreſly " affirmed, that *David* is not yet aſcended into " the Heavens: 'Tis agreed on all hands, that the " final irreverſible Sentence, to be paſſed upon all " Men, will not be till the End of the World: " 'Tis granted likewiſe, that Man can't receive his " perfect Conſummation and compleat Reward, ſo " long as one Part of him is divided from the o- " ther: And this is a Conceſſion of very weighty " Conſideration, and ſuch as may be found ſuffi- " cient to determine this Point, were there no ex- " preſs Teſtimonies of Scripture to decide this Mat- " ter. For while the Body is corrupting in the " Grave, or mouldering into Duſt, 'tis rightly ſup- " poſed, that the Man is doing ſome ſort of *Pe-* " *nance*, and is ſtill, in ſome Senſe, *in a State of* " *Suffering*, which muſt be inconſiſtent with a " *State of Glory*. The Ruins and Diſhonours of " the Grave are plain Marks, if not of a divine " Diſpleaſure, yet at leaſt of the Want of a perfect " Reſtoration to the divine Favour and Goodneſs: " And 'tis abſurd to imagine, that the Soul is en-

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" joying the highest Honour and Felicity, whilst " the Body is under Dissolution and Disgrace; " And this Reason may be further strengthned by " considering, that nothing imperfect can hope " for an Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven, " which is a State of the utmost *Perfection*, as well " as Purity, and will admit of nothing that is par- " tial or defective.

This is but the least Part of what our Author has offered in Confirmation of his first Proposition: Under the second Head some Things occur, which, as he apprehends, serve very much to establish his Doctrine: For Instance, he says, " If any Saints can " be supposed capable, before the final Judgment, " of obtaining Admission into the highest Hea- " vens, it must be those that have suffered Mar- " tyrdom, and laid down their Lives *for the Testi- " mony of Jesus*; yet even these, according to the " Vision vouchsafed to St. *John*, are to wait till " this Fulness of Time be come, for so it is repre- " sented to him, *Rev.* vi. 9, 10, 11.

" The Place where St. *John* saw these holy Souls " in, even *under* the Altar, shews that they were " not then in the highest Heaven: Their Prayer " for Vengeance upon their Enemies, seems not " well consistent with their being in a State of " Glory; and their being ordered to *rest yet for a* " *little Season*, till the Number of Martyrs was " filled up, is a sufficient Indication, that the Ac- " cession of their Fellow Sufferers was necessary to " compleat their own Happiness and Perfection."

Under the second Head our Author likewise assigns the Reason of the Case being as he has here represented it; and that is implied in these Words of St. *Paul*, —— *God having provided some better Thing for us, that they, without us, should not be made perfect.* " The Perfection which God " requires and aims at, is not of any *Part*, tho' " never so considerable, but of the *Whole*. All " the

" the Saints now in Paradiſe are but a *Part* of " *Chriſt's myſtical Body*; the full Complement will " not be till God has accompliſhed the Number " of his Elect; then, and not before, will there " be properly a *Church Triumphant*; when the " Head, and all its conſtituent Members are fitly " framed and compacted together in one Place. " *Chriſt*, the Head of the Body, is now in Hea- " ven, and has taken Poſſeſſion of the heavenly " Manſions prepared for his ſeveral Members. But " if ſome of theſe Members were admitted to Hea- " ven *before*, or *without* the reſt; if, while ſome " were glorified, others were partly in a State of " Diſcipline or Diſhonour; if, while ſome were " united to the Head, others were ſtill wanting, the " Body of *Chriſt* in Heaven would appear deformed " and defective."

If my Room would permit, I ſhould have added ſome more Extracts, to have given the Reader a compleater Idea of our Author's way of thinking and expreſſing himſelf on controvertible Points: As on the Divine Eternity; the Argument *a priori* for the Exiſtence of God, which, he thinks, has miniſter'd Occaſion to Scepticiſm and Infidelity, and done great prejudice to reveal'd Religion; the Deity of our bleſſed Saviour, in which Point he is moſt ſtrictly orthodox; the Ends of our Lord's Temptation in the Wilderneſs; Chriſt's Satisfaction, and the Imputation thereof to us; the Evidences of Chriſt's Reſurrection; the Trinity of Perſons in the divine Nature; the abſolute Neceſſity of Faith in Chriſt to the Salvation of every Man, with the Preheminence of this Grace above Morality or good Works; and the like. But it is impoſſible to enter upon theſe Subjects; and Mr. *Johnſon*'s Qualifications for handling ſuch Topicks may be gueſſed by the foregoing Quotations. His Stile ſeems beſt adapted to the practical Parts of Theology, and thoſe he handles in a very affecting manner.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE *WORKS of the LEARNED.*

*For* AUGUST, 1740.

## ARTICLE VI.

### *Of the Appeal of St.* PAUL *to* CÆSAR.

*Provocatio Patrona & Vindex Libertatis.* Cicero de Legibus.

'TIS hard to say, whether the *Romans* gain'd more Glory by the Conquests they made, or by the useful and excellent Laws they enacted for the Government of the World. In these last 'tis certain, they not only exceeded their old Rivals the *Greeks*, but also surpassed all the other Nations of the Universe. But this is not to be wonder'd at, since the one was but a Consequence of the other: I mean their wise, judicious and equitable Laws



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were in some Measure owing to the Success of their Arms. For when, by the Conduct of their Generals, and the Courage of their Soldiers, they subdued Nations; their wise Senators took special Care to examine their Laws, they cull'd and selected the best of them, and then fitted and adapted them to the Constitution of their Government; and thus by inserting them into their Laws made them their own; in which they succeeded so well, that as they were once the Lords, so they still are in some Sense the Lawgivers of the World; and the *Roman Codex* was made, and still remains to be the Rule and Standard for the rest of Mankind. These wise and useful Regulations, these their prudent Arts of Government, one of their best Poets insists upon as the Glory of the *Romans*, which he prefers to all the Arts and Sciences of the *Greeks*, to the living Statues and noble breathing Sculptures of the *Dorians* and *Corinthians*, and to the Skill of the *Chaldeans* in Astronomy, and the Knowledge of the Heavens, in that beautiful Passage in the 6th B. of the *Æneis*, which I shall give you in the Language of Mr. *Dryden*, which comes up very near to the Original.

*Let others better mould the running Mass*
*Of Metals, and inform the breathing Brass,*
*And soften into Flesh a Marble Face;*
*Plead better at the Bar, describe the Skies,*
*And when the Stars descend, and when they rise:*
*But,* Rome, *'tis thine alone, with aweful Sway,*
*To rule Mankind, and make the World obey,*
*Disposing Peace* ——
*These are imperial Arts, and worthy thee.*

Which Words, pronounced by way of Prophecy by old *Anchises* in Hell, contain one of the noblest

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bleſt * Encomiums that ever was made upon any Nation. But among the ſeveral *Roman* Laws, no one was more juſt and reaſonable, none better calculated for the Happineſs of the People, againſt the Oppreſſion and Injuſtice of Governours, than that which allow'd Appeals to the Emperors at *Rome*. The Words *Appello ad Cæſarem*, like ſo many magick Terms, carried a ſtrange Force and Energy along with them, could put a Stop to all Proceſſes and Trials, baffle the Malice of ſpightful Accuſers, bring down *Vultum inſtantis Tyranni*, the haughty Looks of an inſulting Tyrant, and put a Check to his cruel and iniquitous Deſigns at once. So juſtly might *Tully* call it the Patron and Support of Liberty, for the *Julian* Law was full and expreſs, *De vi publica damnatur qui in Provinciâ aliquâ Poteſtate præditus civem Romanum ad Imperatorem appellantem necat, necarive juſſerit, torſerit, verberaverit, condemnaverit, in vincula publica duci juſſerit.* V. Paul. Recept. Sent. 1. Tit. 16. So that

* I cannot help excepting the juſt and true Character, which *Buchanan* gives of his own Nation and People, in the *Epithal.* of *Frances*, Queen of *Scots*, which is the Maſter-piece of that excellent Poet. Let any one but read it with Attention, and let him, if he can, deſpiſe and undervalue that brave and noble People, as ſome ſilly and ſenſeleſs People are apt to do, who can never think or ſpeak well of any Nation or Country but their own. His next fineſt Piece is his *Deſiderium Lutetiæ*, his Praiſes of *Paris*, his favourite and darling City, where he took the greateſt Delight to reſide; in which one cannot help admiring the Beauty of his Diction, and the Smoothneſs of his Verſe, and bewailing, at the ſame Time, the Frailty of his Memory, and the wandring of his Thoughts in the odd Expreſſion of *meum Pectora* in the laſt Verſe but one.

*Illa* meum *rudibus ſuccendit* Pectora *Flammis*, &c.

But as this is plainly the Effect of a Mind wearied with Study, and fatigued with Attention, ſuch Slips as theſe, amongſt ſo many Beauties, ought ever to be kindly excuſed and overlook'd with Candour.



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it was a capital Crime in a Governour, to try, condemn, impriſon, ſcourge, or kill any *Roman* Citizen that had made his Appeal to *Cæſar*. But the Force of the Law did not ſtop there; for, leſt upon the lodging an Appeal, a Governour ſhould be inclined to favour a Priſoner, and to ſet him at Liberty, for fear he ſhould carry his Complaints to the Prince, and do him ill Offices at *Rome*, the Law tied up the Governour's Hands, and put it out of his Power to favour and releaſe an Offender. This, I confeſs, is not expreſſed in the Law which I have juſt now quoted, but is clearly implied, and may, I conceive, be fairly gathered from the Words of *Agrippa* to *Feſtus*, in the *Acts*, C. xxvi. V. 32. For, when that Prince had heard the Apoſtle's Defence, and was ſatisfied of his Innocence, he declared to that Governour, that he might have been ſet at Liberty, if he had not appealed to *Cæſar*. And this Part St. *Paul* was forced to act, this Remedy he was obliged to fly to, when he had made that noble Defence before *Feſtus*, aſſerted his Innocence, and told him to his Face, that he knew him innocent of the Crimes which the *Jews* alledged againſt him. *Acts* xxv. 10. But as he found this juſt, this reaſonable Plea would not avail him, nor ſerve to procure his Liberty, and that *Feſtus*, who, in the Beginning of his Government, was willing to gratify the *Jews*, would have decoy'd him to *Jeruſalem*, and perſuaded him to take his Trial there, which was juſt flinging himſelf into the Hands of his implacable Enemies, and expoſing his Life to freſh Conſpiracies; ſo ſeeing the Snare ſo plainly laid for him, he wiſely warded off the Blow, reſolved to take the Advantage of the Law, to aſſert his Privilege as an innocent Man, and a Citizen of *Rome*, and boldly made his Appeal to *Cæſar*.

The Writers upon this Paſſage have been divided in their Thoughts about the Reaſons that might induce

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induce the Apoſtle to make this Appeal to the Imperial Court. I ſhall fairly ſtate, and briefly conſider their ſeveral Opinions, and then propoſe my own, which I ſhall readily ſubmit to your judicious Remarks.

And firſt, St. *Auſtin* ſeems to blame him for it, and wonders he applied to a ſecular Court, and referred his Affair to a heathen Prince: But endeavours at the ſame Time, to excuſe him, by ſaying, he did it with a Deſign to ſave his Life, which he knew was of ſo great Conſequence to the Church. But if that venerable Father had duly conſidered the Character of St. *Paul*, what undaunted Courage he ſhewed on all Occaſions, how often he had look'd Death in the Face, and willingly expoſed his Life for the Cauſe of Chriſt, he could never have thought he would have taken the leaſt wrong Step, or uſed any indirect Means to preſerve his Life, or to ſecure himſelf from Danger.

An * Expoſitor of ſome Figure, who wrote in the laſt Century, has aſſign'd other Reaſons for this Proceeding of St. *Paul*. 1*ſt*, That God ſtood by him at Night, and bidding him be of good Cheer, told him, that as he had teſtified at *Jeruſalem*, ſo he muſt alſo bear Witneſs at *Rome*. But tho' ſuch a Warning and Promiſe from God, muſt have been of vaſt Comfort to him, if Fortune, or the Neceſſity of his Affairs had obliged him to travel to that City, I cannot think he would have undertaken ſo long and dangerous a Voyage, at that Seaſon of the Year, unleſs he had had a ſpecial Call from God for it, which it does not appear he had, or at leaſt ſome ſtrong and weighty Reaſons to engage him to it, and that this was really his Caſe, I ſhall endeavour to prove in the Courſe of theſe Papers.

The other Reaſon the fore-mentioned Expoſitor gives is, that St. *Paul* might hope to gain the Good-

* *Cornelius a Lapide.*



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will of *Nero*; and if he failed in that, to have the Satisfaction of suffering and dying in that great Theatre of the World, the Capital of the *Roman* Empire. But as this is mere Gueſs-work and Conjecture, I ſhall paſs it over *levi Pede*, nor lay a greater Streſs upon it than it will bear.

Some learned Men have endeavoured to account for this Behaviour of the Apoſtle, by ſaying, that he had Hopes of ſtrong Recommendations to ſeveral conſiderable Perſons at *Rome*, eſpecially to *Seneca* the Philoſopher, who, as he had been Governor to *Nero* in his Youth, was now his prime Miniſter, and a Man of great Credit and Intereſt at Court; which Recommendation might come from his Brother *Gallio* the Deputy of *Achaia*, who had ſhewn him ſuch Favour when he was accuſed at *Corinth*, that he flatly refuſed to concern himſelf in the Affair, and was ſo far from ſacrificing St. *Paul* to the Fierceneſs and Malice of the *Jews*, who he plainly ſaw thirſted after his Blood, that he drove them from the Judgment-ſeat, and ſuffered *Soſthenes*, the Head of their Synagogue, to be inſulted and abuſed before his Tribunal, without the leaſt Shew of Reſentment, although it look'd like a Contempt upon his Authority, *Acts* xviii. 16, 17. The Commentator, whom I have quoted above, has a very odd Notion about this Affair of *Soſthenes*; he believes the Aſſault was made upon him by the *Jews* themſelves, who thought he was a Chriſtian in his Heart, had betray'd their Cauſe, and pleaded faintly againſt St. *Paul*; but beſides that the Words of St. *Luke* might eaſily ſet him right, who is expreſs, that this Aſſault was made by the *Greeks*, ελληνες, or the *Gentiles*, both *Grotius* and *Hammond*, (*at quales Viri!*) are of a different Opinion, and both ſay, that *Soſthenes* was the main Accuſer, and the warmeſt Stickler againſt St. *Paul*. *Utri Creditis?* I

muſt

must own I would rather pin my Faith upon those two great Luminaries of Learning, than on a thousand such dull and heavy Commentators, as *Cornelius a Lapide*, and the rest of his Tribe. I know some have gone farther, and have said, that *Gallio*'s Favours to him proceeded from his being a Christian in his Heart, and a Convert of St. *Paul*'s, which they think produced a Friendship between him and *Seneca*, and occasioned the Epistles, which are said to have passed between those two great Men, and which both St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin* declared they had seen. I shall not here lay any Stress upon this pretended Conversion of the *Roman* Magistrate, which is certainly very liable to Suspicion, and has no ancient Authority to support it; much less upon the Epistles, which (especially those that are now extant) carry the most glaring Marks of Forgery, and are allowed by learned Men to be certainly spurious. But yet I cannot help thinking, that St. *Paul* had some kind Recommendations at *Rome*; for these two Reasons, *1st*, From the kind Usage he met with beyond the other Prisoners upon his Arrival, and during his abode at *Rome*. *2dly*, From the great Success of his Ministry and preaching in that City, which extended even to the Palace and Court of *Nero*. And *First*, From the kind Usage he met with at his Arrival, and during his abode at *Rome*. For we read, in the 16th Chapter of the *Acts* and the 28th Verse, that when they arrived at that City, the Centurion, who conducted them, and had them under his Charge, delivered his Prisoners to the Captain of the Guards, who, I suppose, was *Burrhus*, the intimate Friend of *Seneca*, and the second Minister after him; for 'tis certain, he was about that time *Præfectus Prætorio*, the Commander of the *Prætorian* or Household Troops. This Officer ordered the rest of the Prisoners to the common Prison, but St. *Paul* had



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this Favour and Diſtinction ſhewn him, that he was allowed to live in a private Houſe, only with a Soldier with him to attend and guard him; I ſay to guard him, for I conceive, the Man was placed about him rather as a Security for his Perſon, than to prevent his Eſcape; ſince it could never be thought, that one, who had ſurrendered himſelf, and voluntarily made his Appeal to *Cæſar*, would offer to run away, and to fly from that Trial, which he ſo earneſtly deſired. This Soldier therefore, I ſay, ſeems to have been placed about him as a Safety to his Perſon, leſt the *Jews*, who had already made ſo many Attempts upon his Life, might again lie in wait and endeavour to deſtroy him. How long St. *Paul* continued thus Priſoner at large, and how he came off upon his Trial, the Scripture does not tell us, but I think we may fairly conclude, he came off with flying Colours, and was honourably acquitted; ſince, after his Releaſe, he lived two Years in his own hired Houſe, and was allowed not only to receive all that came to him, but, which is more, was permitted to preach the Kingdom of God, and to teach thoſe Things which concerned the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all Confidence, no Man forbidding him; which I believe, Sir, you'll allow, he never could have done, if he had been under the Diſfavour of the Prince, and been found guilty of the Crimes that were laid to his Charge.

Some Writers have imputed the kind Uſage that was ſhewn to St. *Paul*, to his Wiſdom and Courage; to the Regard and Reſpect, that were ſhewn him by the Chriſtians at *Rome*; to the Character the Centurion gave of him, who had made the Voyage with him; or laſtly, to ſome kind Letters, which *Feſtus* had written in his Behalf to *Rome*: But this laſt I can by no means think to be probable, for I never can believe, that he, who had ſhewn him ſo little

Juſtice

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Juſtice at *Cæſarea*, would have troubled himſelf to recommend him at *Rome*, which would have been a Reflection upon him, ſince it was his Injuſtice that had drove him to the Neceſſity of appealing to *Cæſar*. But I rather believe, he was recommended by ſome great Men to their Friends, and moſt probably, as I obſerved before, by the Deputy of *Achaia*, who was acquainted with his Caſe, had been Eye-witneſs of the Malice of the *Jews* againſt him, and had refuſed by an unjuſt Sentence to ſacrifice him to the Reſentment of his implacable Enemies. The other Reaſon I aſſigned of the Favour he met with at *Rome*, was the Succeſs of his Preaching and Miniſtry there, which extended to the Palace and the Court of *Nero*. That he made himſelf Friends and Converts there, appears from the 4th Ch. of *Phil.* V. 22. where he mentions the Saints that were of *Cæſar*'s Houſhold, *i. e.* thoſe that belonged to his Family, and Servants of his Court; and at the 1ſt Chap. of the ſame Epiſtle, V. 12. he declares, that the Things which had happen'd to him, had fallen out rather for the Furtherance of the Goſpel; ſo that his Bonds were manifeſt in all the Palace, and in all other Places. The Word Palace here in the Original is πραιτώριον, *Prætorium*, which, Dr. *Hammond* ſaith, ſignifies the Common-Hall, the Court where Cauſes uſed to be heard; ſo that St. *Paul*'s being impriſoned and brought before the Judges, might be a Means to make him known to the Bench, and to the whole Court. But 'tis certain, the *Prætorium* at *Rome*, in its primitive Senſe, implied the Camp of the *Prætorian* Guards, or Houſhold Troops of the Prince; ſo 'tis likely that, as he was attended by a Soldier, he might have had Occaſion to preach to the Soldiery, and to make ſome Converts among thoſe *Prætorian* Troops. But I believe the Word may be of a more extenſive Senſe, and that as the Apoſtle was a Stranger,

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Stranger, and wrote to those that were such, he might have taken the Word in the same Sense * it was used in the Provinces, where the Palace of the Prince or Governour was usually called *Prætorium*, as *Matt.* xxii. 27. and *Acts* xxiii. 25. where the Palace of *Herod* is called the *Prætorium*; so he might mean by it the Palace of the Emperor. This is the Sense that ancient Writers have given of it, and which carries some Probability along with it. Beside, 'tis not certain, St. *Paul* did not appear before *Nero* himself, or at least before the *Prætor*, who administer'd Justice in his Name; so that our Translation may keep its Ground, and seems to express the Sense and Meaning of St. *Paul*.

Thus I have fairly stated and considered the Reasons alledged by learned Men for this Appeal of St. *Paul*, and casting himself upon the Tribunal of *Cæsar*. I shall now go on to produce my own, which I shall entirely leave to your judicious Remarks. I once thought the Reason was, that he expected to find Justice from *Nero*, who at that Time was a just, merciful, and gracious Man, and indeed a Pattern to all other Princes. I say, at that Time, for the first five Years of his Reign were so remarkable for these princely Virtues, that *Neronis Quinquennium*, the first five Years of *Nero*, passed as a Proverb to express a just and gracious Reign. These were really golden Days to the *Romans*, and continued to be so whilst that Prince was under the Direction, and followed the Advices of those two wise and good Men *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; but when he shook off their Influence, hearken'd to vile Flatterers, and was governed by his vicious and wicked Favourites, by such a worthless Fellow as his freedman *Pallas*, and such a wicked Wretch as *Tigellinus*, the Minion of his

* See Mr. *L'Enfant's Testament. in Locum.*

Lewdness,

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Lewdneſs, and the chief * Adviſer of his Crimes; then he appeared in his own true and proper Colours, and gave a Looſe to his Paſſions, broke out into all Cruelty, Follies and Extravagancies, proved a Monſter, and became the Scourge of the World, and the Fear of Mankind. 'Twas then, that in a mad and drunken Fit, he ſet the City of *Rome* on fire, and cruelly play'd over its Flames; and to ſhift off the Odium of ſo vile an Action from himſelf, he laid it to the Charge of the poor Chriſtians, and as *Tertullian* has it, *Primus in hanc Sectam Nero gladio ferociit*, was the firſt that drew the Sword, and made capital Laws againſt the Chriſtians, who (as the ſame Writer ſaith) *tali authore perſecutionis gloriabantur*, gloried in having ſuch a worthleſs Wretch to be the firſt Perſecutor of their Sect. This happen'd in the 12th Year of that Prince's Reign, whereas St. *Paul*'s Appeal and Appearance before *Agrippa*, are placed by Dr. *Hammond* in the 2d Year of *Nero*.

But tho' St. *Paul* might expect to have Juſtice done him then at *Rome*, he had, I am perſuaded, much ſtronger Reaſons to engage him to the Step he made; *Firſt*, To deliver himſelf from the Perſecution of the *Jews*, and the many Attempts they made againſt his

* 'Twas he that put *Nero* upon that unheard of Cruelty of clothing poor Wretches in Garments dipped in burning Matter, the *Tunica Moleſta*, and, with a Stake run through their Bodies, expoſing them in Rows like ſo many Torches to the Sight and Diverſion of the People, which *Juvenal* alludes to in his firſt *Satire* at the 155th Verſe.

*Pene Tigellinum tædâ lucebis in illâ*
*Quâ Stantes ardent & fixa gutture fumant.*

If into Rogues omnipotent you rake,
Death is your Doom impail'd upon a Stake;
Smear'd o'er with Wax, and ſet on fire to light
The Streets, and make a dreadful Blaze by Night.

DRYDEN.

Life,

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Life. 2*dly*, To ſhelter himſelf from the ill Uſage and Injuſtice of the *Roman* Governours. 3*dly and laſtly*, Becauſe he knew he ran no Riſk, but went upon ſure Grounds, there being no Law or Edict, no Statute or Penalty at that Time in Force againſt the Chriſtians at *Rome*.

And *firſt*, to deliver himſelf from the Perſecutions of the *Jews*, and the continual Attempts they made againſt his Life. And indeed he could not expect any Thing elſe from them. He was a Convert from their Religion, a Deſerter of their Cauſe, and now ſhewed as much Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion, as he had done Fierceneſs and Cruelty againſt it before. From that Time, from the Moment of his Converſion, the *Jews* became his moſt implacable Enemies. From that Time his Life became a Scene of Dangers and Perſecutions. I ſhall only offer two or three Inſtances of it, and for the reſt refer to his own Words, where he gives ſuch a moving Deſcription of his Sufferings. Thus do we read at the 9th Chapter of the *Acts*, that when he had confounded the *Jews* at *Damaſcus*, proving that Jeſus was the Chriſt, the *Jews* took Counſel to kill him, and watched the Gates Day and Night to compaſs their cruel Deſign; then the Diſciples took him by Night, and let him down by the Walls in a Baſket, Verſes 22, 23, 24, 25. Another Time, a Tumult was raiſed againſt him, that he would have been torn to Pieces, if the chief Captain had not ſent Soldiers to reſcue him out of their Hands. And laſtly, to make ſure Work, they added an Execration to their Malice, and forty of them bound themſelves under a Curſe, not to eat nor drink till they had deſtroy'd him. But let us hear the moving Account St. *Paul* himſelf gives of his own Sufferings, at the 2d of *Cor.* xith Chapter and 23d Verſe, where he declares, he had been in Labours abundant, in Stripes above Meaſure, in Priſons,

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Priſons frequently, in Deaths oft; that thrice he had been beaten with Rods, and five times he had been ſcourged by the *Jews*.

But what made his Caſe the more deplorable was, that he had no Refuge to fly to, he could expect no Relief nor Juſtice from the *Roman* Governours; for as *Pilate* join'd with *Herod* againſt Chriſt, ſo his Succeſſors ever ſided and agreed with the *Jews* in perſecuting St. *Paul*; of this he had ſufficient Experience in the two laſt, *Felix*, and *Feſtus* his Succeſſor. The firſt of theſe was a wicked and corrupt Magiſtrate, who had been guilty of all manner of Oppreſſion, and Injuſtice in his Government; and, at the very Time that St. *Paul* appeared before him, lived in open Adultery with another Man's Wife, whom he had taken by Force from her Huſband. This St. *Paul* was appriz'd of, and when permitted to ſpeak before him, did not in the leaſt ſooth and flatter him in his Vices, but reaſoned before him concerning Righteouſneſs and Temperance, or (as the Words δικαιοσύνης and ἐγκρατείας in the Original ſeem rather to imply) of Juſtice and Continency, the Breach of which he had been moſt notoriouſly guilty of, and gave him ſuch a moving and awakening Lecture, that it put him into a Fit of Trembling; but this good Qualm of Conſcience was ſoon over, he quickly ſhook and ſhifted him off, as other Sinners do their Repentance to a more convenient Seaſon; and at laſt, whether he was piqued and offended at the Freedom of his Diſcourſe, or that (as the Holy Writ intimates) he was in Hopes to draw Money out of him, thus giving a freſh Inſtance of Injuſtice and Extortion, he refuſed to grant him his Liberty, as in Conſcience he was obliged to do; and when he was recalled from his Government, willing to oblige the *Jews*, whoſe Reſentments he had juſt Reaſon to fear, and leſt they ſhould follow him with their Accuſations to *Rome*,

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*Rome*, he left him to be tried and judged by his Succeſſor *Feſtus*. But he had ſoon Reaſon to repent of this his Complaiſance, and currying Favour with the *Jews*, for his Back was no ſooner turn'd, but they followed him with their Complaints to *Rome*, where he loſt the Favour of *Nero*; and if it had not been for the Intereſt he made with his Brother *Pallas*, the Freedman and Favourite of that Prince, he had likewiſe loſt his Liberty, if not his Life. Yet this had no Influence upon his Succeſſor *Feſtus*, nor made him ſhew more Juſtice and Equity to St. *Paul*. For tho' he had, as I have already obſerved, heard the Cauſe at his Arrival at *Cæſarea*, and was convinced of his Innocence, as the Apoſtle had the Courage to tell him to his Face, *Acts* xxv. 10. Yet, as he was willing, at his firſt coming into the Government, to pleaſe and gratify the *Jews*, he would have perſuaded him to go to *Jeruſalem* to be tried. But the Apoſtle wiſely ſaw the Snare that was laid for him, reſolved to fly to the *dernier* Reſort, pleaded his Privilege as a *Roman*, and boldly made his Appeal to *Cæſar*, which he was the more encouraged to do, becauſe he knew he went upon ſafe Grounds, that there were no Laws could touch and affect him at *Rome*, no Pains and Penalties in Force againſt the Chriſtians; which was the third Reaſon I aſſign'd, and perhaps the ſtrongeſt, that engaged him to take ſuch a Step.

There had indeed been an Edict lately iſſued out by *Claudius* to expell the *Jews* from *Rome*, by Reaſon, as *Suetonius* relates, of ſome Tumults and Diſturbances they had raiſed in that City. *Judæos impulſore Chriſto*, ſaith that Writer, *tumultuantes Româ expulit*. Suet. in Claud. c. 25. But this concern'd the *Jews* only, and was not in the leaſt deſign'd to affect the Chriſtians. I muſt confeſs, ſome of them were Sufferers by it, and were involved in that Sentence, and that purely by the Miſtake and Ignorance of

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of the *Romans*, who, not knowing the Difference that was between the two Sects, were apt to confound them together. This was the Fate of *Priſcilla* and *Aquila*, whom, as St. *Luke* ſaith, St. *Paul* found at *Corinth*, whither they were fled from *Rome*, becauſe of this Edict of *Claudius*, *Acts* xviii. 2. This St. *Epiphanius* thinks was alſo the Fate of St. *John* the Evangeliſt, who, he ſaith, by Virtue of that Law was at that Time baniſh'd to the Iſle of *Patmos*: He is indeed ſingular in this Account, ſince the beſt and moſt authentick Writers place the Exit of that Apoſtle almoſt forty Years after, in the 15th of *Domitian*, *A. D.* 95. Be it as it will, this does by no means affect the Point in Queſtion. What I inſiſt upon is, that there was not at that Time * any Edict or Law againſt the Chriſtians as Chriſtians, nor indeed till near 10 Years after, when *Nero*, to remove the Shame and Scandal of ſetting *Rome* on Fire, laid the Blame upon the innocent Chriſtians, iſſued out the firſt Edicts againſt them, and diſcharged his Rage and Fury upon them. This plainly appears from the Teſtimony of the beſt Writers, and ſtill more clearly from the Inſtance of St. *Paul* himſelf, who, when he was releaſed from his Confinement at *Rome*, was ſo far from being moleſted and perſecuted for his Religion, that he was ſuffered, as I have ſaid before, to live two Years quietly in his own hired Houſe, to receive all that came unto him, to preach the Kingdom of God, and to teach thoſe Things which concerned the Lord Jeſus Chriſt with all Confidence, no Man forbidding him; which he would never have been ſuffered to do, had there been any Laws or Edicts at that Time in Force againſt the Chriſtians at *Rome*. Dr. *Hammond* on this Place has made a Remark, which,

* St. *Paul* made his Appeal in the 2d Year of *Nero*, and the Perſecution was not till the 12th Year of that Prince.

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I conceive, is not entirely right; he thinks, that the Readineſs which *Feſtus* ſhew'd in admitting this Plea and Appeal of St. *Paul*, was a Proof that there were no Laws enacted againſt the Chriſtians. But with ſubmiſſion to that very learned, that great Dictator in the *Republick of Letters*, I can by no means think his Obſervation to be juſt, ſince it was what that Governour at his Peril could not refuſe to admit, it being as much as his Place and his Life were worth to proceed farther in the Matter; ſince the *Julian* Law, as I have obſerved above, made it a capital Crime for any Magiſtrate to try, condemn, puniſh, impriſon, ſcourge, or put any Criminal to death, that had made his Appeal to *Cæſar*. But tho' the Admiſſion of his Plea did not prove it, yet the very Appeal of the Apoſtle plainly ſhew'd, that the Chriſtians at that Time were not within the Reach, or under the Laſh of any Law, ſince the Step that he took would have been running from *Charybdis* upon *Scylla*, and ruſhing into greater Danger, than he might have run at home, and which his own Prudence would have directed him to avoid; and upon this he put the whole Streſs and Iſſue of his Affair, in the Defence he made before the Governor *Feſtus*: *Neither againſt the Law, nor againſt the Temple, nor yet againſt* Cæſar *have I offended any thing at all.* Acts xxv. 8. The Truth is, he was ſo far from offending againſt his Prince, that in his Writings, nay even in thoſe very Writings he directed to the Chriſtians at *Rome*, he had recommended Non-reſiſtance and Obedience to *Nero*, under no leſs a Penalty than that of eternal Damnation; telling them, that whoſoever reſiſted the Power then in being, reſiſted the Ordinance of God, and that they that reſiſted ſhould receive to themſelves Damnation. *Rom.* xiii. 3. And this, I am perſuaded, was the Reaſon of the Behaviour of *Gallio* the Pro-conſul of *Achaia*, towards St. *Paul*, when

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when he was brought before him by the *Jews* at *Corinth*, which has been blamed by some learned Men, as too easy, careless and indolent, and censured by others as not answering the Character *Seneca* gives him of a just and upright Man, nor suitable to the Dignity of a *Roman* Magistrate, and a Governour of a Province. But these Censures, I believe, will readily fall to the Ground, if we set the Matter in a true Point of View, and enter into the Merits of the Cause, which was plainly this: *Gallio* was Deputy from the Emperor, as a Judge in Matters that were purely civil; his Business was to preserve the Peace, to secure and defend the Liberties and Properties of the People that were under his Care, and to punish such Crimes as were committed within his District and Jurisdiction; but as for Matters that were merely ecclesiastical, Disputes between the *Jews* and *Christians* in Matters relating to their Religion; these he knew were beyond his Commission, what he had nothing to do with, and therefore justly refused to intermeddle in such Matters. This was what in plain Terms he declared to the *Jews* when they applied to him, and demanded Justice against St. *Paul*. If this was a Matter, said he, of Wrong or wicked Lewdness, O ye *Jews*, Reason would, that I should bear with you; but if a Question of Words and Names, or of your Law; of Words, * whether Christ was to be called *Messias*, and be distinguished by that Name? Of Names, whether it be lawful for Christians to distinguish themselves from the *Jews*? Of their Laws, whether it justly condemns all *Gentiles* that are not circumcised, and maketh it unlawful to converse with such Men? Look ye to it, for I will not be a Judge in such Matters. So, flatly refusing to concern himself with such Points, he

* V. Dr. *Hammond in Locum.*



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drove them from the Judgment-Seat, *Acts* xviii. 14, 15, 16. Besides, the Profession of *Gallio* might have directed him to proceed in this Affair. *Eusebius* saith, he pleaded and declaimed with great Reputation at *Rome*; and as we may be sure, he did not fail to join to his Eloquence, what *Tully* recommends as so essential to an Orator and Pleader, I mean, a thorough Knowledge of the Laws of his Country; this might satisfy him, that he had no Rule to go by, no ground to proceed upon in a Matter about which there were no Laws and Statutes in the *Roman* Codex: So that far from being a Reflection upon that Magistrate, it redounded to his Honour, since he could not act otherwise without a plain Breach of Trust, without being guilty of Injustice, and straining those Laws, which, by the Nature of his Office, he was obliged to maintain.

And thus, Sir, I have considered the Nature of the Appeals to *Rome*, and the great Advantage that accrued to the Subjects from them, as also the Motives which the Apostle had to fly to that Remedy, and to challenge his Privilege of a *Roman* Citizen. If you know any Reasons of greater Weight and Force, I beg you would favour me with them, that if I find myself in the wrong, I may close in with your Opinion, and desist from my own, which I am always ready to do, since no one has a greater Deference for your Judgment, than,

*SIR*,

*Your's*, &c.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE VII.

It is in compliance with the Desire of the Author of this little Piece, that I give it a place in our History, after its being published in one of the weekly Papers. This Edition differs from the former in some minute Instances.

*An* Introduction *to the Life of the* late Chancellor TALBOT: *Containing some general Heads or* Topics, *upon which the* Memoir *is proposed to be formed.*

IN drawing up *Memoirs of this kind*, the *Writer* should be careful to make choice of a *Subject*, in treating and canvassing which, in a proper manner, such Scenes of Action and Pursuit will, naturally and necessarily, occur to the Consideration of the Reader, as will not only tend to gratify and oblige his Curiosity, but likewise to instruct and enlighten his Judgment.

This should be the constant Aim of every Person, who takes upon himself the Employment of writing Lives; and, in our Opinion, this End will be, most effectually, answered; not by bringing upon the *Stage*, out of their *Cells* and *Recesses*, Men, who, for the most part, have lived a Life of Solitude and Retirement; although these very Men have, sometimes, distinguish'd themselves by so wonderful a Proficiency in useful and honourable Studies, as to merit the Approbation and Acknowledgments both of the present Age and late Posterity; because it often happens with Men of this Character, that notwithstanding they have been so happy as to acquire a great and just Reputation by the Service they have done the Public, in the Course of their Studies; yet the Accidents of such Men's Lives do not



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afford a sufficient variety of Materials towards the compiling any Part of *Civil History*, or towards forming either useful or entertaining Memoirs of this Nature.

What Ingredients, for Instance, towards forming such Memoirs, can be found or expected in the Life of a *learned Recluse*, who, in consequence of his Retirement, and of his *total Abstraction* from public Affairs, has been enabled perhaps to oblige the World with great Improvements in several Branches of the mathematical Science, or to deal out to the Public more elaborate and methodical Systems in some other Sciences, than what have, perhaps, appeared before in the World?

To speak the Truth; the Spirits of such Men are seldom in a *proper Fitness*, or *Direction* to produce fine and apposite Reasonings, with reference to any other Subject than that which ingrosses their whole Attention; for as the Culture and Improvement of some Branch of the Sciences, generally, makes up the *whole* of such Mens Pursuits; so in that, generally, consists the *whole* of *their Merits*.

The Glory of contributing *proper Materials* to an useful *Biographical Memoir*, is reserved solely to Men of an *universal Genius* with a *united Education*, that is to say, to those only, whose Education has been laid in the *united Strength* of such Improvements as are only to be made from a thorough Knowledge and Acquaintance with Men and Books, and who have, all their Lives, been educated in the Knowledge and concerned in the Administration of Affairs of State: This rare and singular Privilege is reserved to *such Men* only, as are equally happy and *inimitable* in the Choice of the justest and propereſt Matter, suited to all the Occasions, which the Variety and Importance of their Employments demand, and in recommending and adorning *that Matter*, by the very fittest, best and happiest

happieſt Manner of conveying and communicating it to the Public, — who have an exquiſite Grace and *Propriety* in all their Deportments, (ſuch a Grace and Propriety as is, indeed, far eaſier for me to *diſcern* than to *deſcribe*,) as well as the moſt conſummate Knowledge of Things; — who are able to trace them in their minuteſt Differences, and in their remoteſt Conſequences, and to ſee through their moſt combined and complicated Relations; and whoſe Spirits, by long Practice and Experience, have contracted an *habitual* and (if I may be allowed the Expreſſion) a *mechanical Sympathy* with great and difficult Undertakings; to ſuch a Degree, that the greateſt and moſt arduous Affairs are to ſuch Men the *proper Sphere and Element* in which they delight *to live and move and have their Being*; as thinking, *peradventure*, from thence to derive new Occaſions of Glory, and to reap *freſh Laurel*, from the Exerciſe and due Exertion of ſuch extraordinary Talents and Accompliſhments.

The Conduct of ſuch Men under the nobleſt and moſt important Relations to the State, and in the moſt auguſt and moſt conſpicuous *Theatre* of *Action*, can only furniſh out *proper Ingredients* to render a *Narrative* of this kind uſeful and inſtructive. The *heroical Meaſures*, which are ſet to View, in Memoirs of this Sort, are apt to gain and win the very Soul of an *ingenious Reader* to the ſame *Bly* and *Temperament*.

*Moreover*, it is a *Tribute* of *Reſpect*, which we conceive to be due to the *Memories* of *Men*, who have *benefited* and *adorned* the State by their Merits and Services, gratefully *to commemorate* ſuch Services, by the Means of *Hiſtory* gravely and faithfully writ; and, by *that Means*, to endeavour to raiſe an *Emulation of their Virtues*, and to inſtruct Poſterity *by their Example*.



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*These Motives* have determined us to draw up a *few Memoirs*, or Observations, relating to the Life of the late Lord *Talbot*; because we think that a *Detail* of such Matters as we ourselves have had either an Opportunity of observing, or of collecting with any certainty, from the Reports of others, with relation to the Character and Conduct of so great a Man, might afford a lively and instructive Lesson of *Moral* and *Philosophical* Virtue.

It is, then, *universally*, agreed, that Lord *Talbot* reflected an *unusual Lustre* upon the highest and most honourable Station in the Law, (to which the *Esteem* and *Affection of his Fellow Citizens*, as well as the *Favour* and *discerning Judgment* of his *Sovereign*, had raised him) by the most genuine and unaffected Plainness and *Simplicity* of Manners; by the admirable and uncommon Felicity of his Genius, accompanied with a most solid and comprehensive Knowledge, both in *his Profession* and in the *Political Science*; by his remarkable Love of Justice, and by a most *benevolent* Inclination, and indefatigable Application to promote every thing, which regarded the Welfare of the *Community*. An habitual Complacency and constant Serenity shone in his Countenance; his Eye was brisk and piercing, and his Looks were such as evidenced a Mind *overflowing* with Candour and Humanity, as denoted him to be the *Friend* and *Well-wisher of Mankind*; his whole Deportment was, indeed, very noble and serious. He did, in reality, esteem it his greatest Felicity to be continually employed in serving the Cause and promoting the Happiness of Mankind. He had *that Magnanimity* and *disinterested Spirit*, as to think no Sacrifice too great, where his Honour, or the Interests of the Community, required it. He prefer'd the Testimony of his Conscience, and the Discharge of the Duty he owed his Country, to the tenderest and most endearing Concerns and Considerations of

of his Life: —With him the Love of his Country had always the *Aſcendant*, and was ſure to *triumph over* every perſonal Conſideration: But theſe Things, (as well as many other *Particularities*, worthy to be known, with relation to him) will beſt appear *in the following Hiſtory of his Life*, in which we do not *ſo much* propoſe, (after the Manner and Cuſtom of ſome, who have preceded us in the *Province* of *writing Lives*) *wantonly*, *injudiciouſly*, and *intemperately* to *praiſe*, *as* by a faithful and accurate Enumeration of Facts, according to the beſt of our Judgment, and according to the Nature and Variety of ſuch Conjunctures and Incidents as may fall under our Examination in treating this Subject, well and truely to *eſtimate* and *appriſe* his Conduct, agreeably to what the Circumſtances of the Caſe ſhall moſt ſeem to require. We ſhall hold out the *Light* of *Evidence* and of *impartial Fact* to the *Reader*; and then leave him at full Liberty to purſue and eſtabliſh his own Concluſions. But to *exhibit* and *explain* our Intentions, yet more fully and particularly; *in theſe Memoirs*, we propoſe to trace him from his firſt beginning to *exerciſe* the *Functions* of the *long Robe* through all the eminent and important Relations, which he, afterwards, ſuſtained in the State: We ſhall not only conſider him as an *Advocate* or *Pleader of Proceſſes at the Bar*; as having had a *relation* through a Series of many Years, to both Houſes of Parliament; as ſeated upon the Bench, and preſiding there as *ſole Judge* in the *higheſt conſtituted Court* of *Judicature* in the Kingdom, and as a *principal Member* of the *Council of State*; but we ſhall likewiſe conſider him in the *eaſy* and *familiar* Converſe and Intercourſe with his Friends; in *ſocial* and *domeſtic* Life; and ſhew, that he was not more conſiderable for his Capacity and Fidelity in the Diſcharge of his public Employments, than he was amiable

able in employing and appropriating his Hours of Retirement.

His Death *in so early a Period of Life*, and in the *full Bloom* of all those honourable Advantages, which are so long in *acquiring*, and so effectual in *endearing* the *Possessor* to the *Community* he lives in, and to his *Contemporaries*, was a very sensible Misfortune to the *State*; yet was it of such a Nature as that it received *great Alleviation* (by his being succeeded in his high Dignity, by a *Magistrate* of Lord *Hardwick*'s Fame and Eminence) when it was found, (in supplying a *Succession* of that Consequence to the Publick) that, in Lord *Hardwicke*,

——— *non deficit alter*
*Aureus, & similis* frondescit virga *Metallo*:

The Voice of *general Condolence*, for the Death of Lord *Talbot*, was then soon changed into a general Joy and Congratulation upon the *Accession* of Lord *Hardwicke* to the *Seals*.

And *here* a fine Field for *Panegyrick* opens to our View; did not we find ourselves *restrained*, as to this Particular; by reason, that we conceive, there is always some *Indelicacy* and *Impropriety* in praising Men to their Faces, though *such Praises* should proceed upon the *most solid Foundations* of *public Merit*, *Capacity*, and *Services*; and though this Objection did not subsist, we should yet judge the Attempt not only to be *premature*, for the Reasons already alledged; but to be, altogether, unnecessary, at a Time, when the *Public* is, every where, *professing* and *proclaiming* the Obligations, which it hath to the *consummate* Wisdom and *Justice* which appears through the *whole Course* of Lord *Hardwicke*'s *Administration* of the *Businesses* and *Causes*, which are incident to the *Jurisdiction* of the *Great Seal*; so that (to speak *poetically*, and in *metaphor*, but yet so as to *import* a serious Truth and a most indeniable Fact) the Benefit and *Emolument* which

which the Public receives from Chancellor *Hardwicke*, is of such a Nature and Tendency, as that his Lordship may not, improperly, be said to emulate the bright *Planet* of the *Day* in the benign and useful Influence which it sheds upon those things, which are placed within the *Sphere* of its *Activity*: Lest, therefore, we should incur the *Folly* and *Imputation* of attempting to paint the *Sun* in its *meridian* Splendour, we hasten to finish this *Preliminary Address* to the Reader, with observing, that it is in *such Propensions, Habits*, and *Perfections* of the *Mind* as we shall shew, hereafter, to have formed the Character of Lord *Talbot*, wherein *the true Greatness of it*, or the *Virtue* called *Magnanimity* properly and essentially consists; it being, in our Opinion, an *assured Pledge* and *Touchstone* of this *heroical Inclination*, if those, who are *actuated* by it, are able, upon all Occasions, to give Evidence of a *Heart* wholly devoted to embrace every honest and ingenious Measure of Proceeding, and of *their* having *such a Cast of Mind* (as the Words, which Lord *Talbot* chose for *his* * *Motto*, and which he took care, as will appear in the *Course* of his *History*, abundantly to verify, by his Conduct, seem to point out) as shews, that they regard the Welfare and Happiness of Mankind with so *uniform* and intire a Purpose and Affection, that their own most immediate and *affecting* Interests are not, in any wise, consulted, where those Interests happen to stand in competition with the due and regular Exercise of the *moral* and *social* Duties; the Mind of a Person of this *Character* being, on such Occasions, so far *allured* and attracted by the *Beauty* and *Loveliness* of such a Procedure, as to be able, *with the greatest Joy and Complacency*, to make the most *important Sacrifices* in favour of it.

* Humani nil Alienum.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE VIII.

### *A Continuation of M.* Rollin's *History of the Arts and Sciences. Vol.* III.

WE have lately given some Account of that Part of this Volume, which relates to the Poetry and Poets of the Ancients: We shall now proceed to lay before our Readers a very brief Epitome of what follows therein, concerning their Historians; beginning with the *Greeks*. Of these our Author contents himself with saying very little here, because he has had Occasion to treat largely of several of them and of their Writings in the former Volumes of his *Grecian* History.

HERODOTUS is the first mentioned. He was of *Halicarnassus*, a City of *Caria*. His Birth happened four Years before the Descent of *Xerxes* upon *Greece*, *A. M.* 3520. He composed his History in the *Ionic* Dialect. It consists of nine Books. He begins it at *Cyrus*, according to him the first *King* of *Persia*, and continues it to the Battle of *Mycale*, fought in the eighth Year of *Xerxes*, which includes an hundred and twenty Years, under four *Kings* of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, from the Year of the World 3405 to 3524. Besides the History of the *Greeks* and *Persians*, which are his principal Subjects, he treats that of several other Nations. That of the *Egyptians*, takes up his second Book. —— The Life of *Homer*, ascribed to him, is not believed to be his.

*Herodotus*, in order to make himself known to all *Greece* at one and the same Time, chose to make his Appearance when it was assembled at the *Olympic* Games, and read his History there, which was received with exceeding Applauses. The Style in which it is wrote seemed so sweet and flowing, that the Audience thought they heard the Muses themselves;

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ſelves; and that, from thenceforth, occaſioned the Names of the Muſes to be given to the nine Books into which it is divided.

It appears, that he gave a particular Reading of his Work to the City of *Athens*, at the celebrated Feaſt of the *Panathenæa*. —— It is believed to have been rather at this Aſſembly, than at the Olympic Games, that *Thucydides*, then very young, perhaps about fifteen, was ſo much affected with the Beauty of this Hiſtory, that he was ſeized with a kind of Tranſport and Enthuſiaſm, and ſhed Tears of Joy in abundance. *Herodotus*, perceiving it, complimented his Father *Olorus* thereupon, as an early Indication of his extraordinary Taſte for polite Learning, and a probable Token of his being one Day the Honour of *Greece*.

After ſome other Particulars relating to *Herodotus*, M. *Rollin* proceeds to THUCYDIDES, whoſe Birth he places in the 77th Olympiad, *A. M.* 3533. His Deſcent, as he has traced it, was very illuſtrious. He ſtudied *Rhetoric* under *Antiphon*, and *Philoſophy* under *Anaxagoras*. As he had a violent Inclination for Study, he declined meddling with publick Affairs; and only took care to form himſelf in the military Exerciſes that ſuited a young Man of his Birth. He was employed in the Army, and made ſome Campaigns. At the Age of Twenty-ſeven he was concerned in conducting and ſettling a new Colony of *Athenians* at *Thurium*. This employed him three or four Years, when he returned to *Athens*, and married a great Fortune.

Some time after, *A. M.* 3573, the *Peloponneſian* War broke out, and cauſed great Troubles and Revolutions in *Greece*. *Thucydides* from the very firſt reſolved to write the Hiſtory of it; for which Purpoſe he applied himſelf, with an almoſt unexempled Diligence and Succeſs, to procure the moſt faithful Accounts, and to be informed in the moſt minute

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minute Circumstances of all that passed on both Sides in every Expedition and Campaign.

As he served in the Troops of *Athens*, he was an Eye-witness of what passed in the Army of the *Athenians*, till the eighth Year of that War, when he was banished for having failed, thro' want of Expedition, as he was accused, of relieving *Amphipolis* upon the Frontiers of *Thrace*, (a Town of great Importance to both the contending Parties,) and suffering the *Lacedemonians* to take it. His Exile lasted twenty Years, during all which he laid himself out with greater Industry than ever, in collecting the Materials of his intended History.——He was at length permitted to return home, at the Age of Sixty-eight. It was not till then, according to Mr. *Dodwell*'s Computation, in which Mr. *Rollin* acquiesces, that he actually set himself to the Composition of this immortal Work. His Subject, as already observed, was the famous *Peloponnesian* War, which lasted twenty-seven Years. He carried it down no farther than to the End of the twenty-first. The six which remained were supplied by *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*. He used the *Attic* Dialect in his History, as the purest, and most elegant, and at the same time the most nervous and emphatical. Besides which, it was the Idiom of *Athens* his Country. He tells us himself, that in writing it, his View was not to please, but to instruct his Readers. He divides it regularly by Years and Campaigns.

Our Author has extracted from a Letter of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* to *Pompey the Great*, a Comparison between *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, as well in respect of their Histories, as the Style they use. However, he hints, as if *Dionysius* being *Herodotus*'s Countryman, was somewhat partial in his Favour. The Substance of this Comparison may be reduced into a narrower Compass than Mr. *Rollin* has allowed it. I shall mention the Topicks on which he has expatiated. 1. *With*

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1. *With regard to the Matter of Hiſtory.*

The firſt Duty of an Hiſtorian is to make choice of a Subject great, noble, and affecting. — *Herodotus* indiſputably excells *Thucydides* in this Point. Nothing can be more agreeable and affecting than the Subject he has choſen. It is all *Greece*, jealous in the higheſt Degree of her Liberty, attacked by the moſt formidable Power of the Univerſe, which, with innumerable Forces, undertakes to cruſh and reduce her into Slavery. It is nothing but repeated Victories, by Sea and Land, gained over the *Perſians* by the *Greeks*, who, beſides the greateſt Eminence in moral Virtues, ſhew all the Valour, Prudence, and military Abilities, that can be expected from the moſt conſummate Captains. In fine, this War, ſo long and terrible, in which all *Aſia* engages againſt the little Country of *Greece*, and ſeems to make the total Deſtruction of it inevitable, terminates with the utter ſhameful Defeat of *Xerxes*, the moſt powerful King of the Earth, and extinguiſhes for ever in the *Perſians* all Thoughts of encountering the *Greeks* any more with open Force.

We ſee nothing of this Nature in *Thucydides*. He confines himſelf to a ſingle War, unjuſt in its Principle, very various in its Events, and inglorious to the *Athenians* in its Succeſs. It is *Greece* poſſeſſed by the Spirit of Diſcord, and embrewing her Hands in her own Blood. A Scene of Horror; *Greeks* ſlaughtering *Greeks*, plundering of Cities, Earthquakes, Droughts, Famine, Diſeaſes, Plagues, Peſtilence; in a Word, the moſt dreadful Calamities.

Such is the firſt Reflection of *Dionyſius*; which, Mr. *Rollin* very juſtly remarks, does not at all affect the Merit of the Writer. The Choice of the Matter does not depend upon an Author cotemporary with

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with his Subject, who is not Master of his Events, and who neither can, nor ought to write any thing but what happens. —— We have no Right to require any Thing of him, but that he should be true, judicious, and impartial.

*Secondly*, It is of Importance for a Writer to chuse proper Points, from whence to set out, and where to stop the Carreer of his History. And in this *Herodotus* has admirably succeeded. He begins with the Cause of the *Persians* declaring War against *Greece*: Which is the Desire of revenging on the latter, the Destruction of *Troy*, above two hundred Years before; which City was at that time in Alliance with *Persia*. As for *Thucydides*, he begins his History with describing the unhappy Situation of the Affairs of the *Greeks* at that time; a first Prospect little agreeable or affecting. He imputes this War to *Athens*; tho' he might have ascribed it to the Envy of *Sparta*, piqued at the Glory of the *Athenians*, acquired in their Conflicts with *Persia*.

This second Reflection of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* pleases Mr. *Rollin* still less than the former. He thinks *Thucydides* was right in ascribing the War to the boundless Ambition of the *Athenians*; and applauds it as a noble Evidence of his Impartiality.

*Thirdly*, *Herodotus*, who knew that a long Relation of the same Matter, how agreeable soever in its own Nature, would become disgustful, has varied his Work, after the manner of *Homer*, by Episodes and Digressions, which add much to its Beauty and the Reader's Pleasure.

*Thucydides*, on the contrary, is always uniform, and pursues his Subject without any Variation; heaping up Battles on Battles, Preparations on Preparations, Harangues upon Harangues; parcelling out Actions by Campaigns, which might have been shewn in all their Extent with more Grace and Perspicuity.

Mr.

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Mr. *Rollin* says, *Dionysius* seems here not to attend sufficiently to the Laws of History, from which a Writer ought never to deviate without the justest Reason. One of these is, that an Historian should hardly ever lose Sight of his Subject. This was the Conduct of *Thucydides*: Whereas many blame *Herodotus* for his long and frequent Digressions. However, our Author does not entirely give into this Censure; seeing they must have been very agreeable to the *Greeks*, at a Time when the History of those different Nations, of which they treat, was entirely unknown to them.

*Fourthly*, *Thucydides* inserts nothing fabulous in his Work, never aims at embellishing it by Facts of the marvellous kind; nor does he, upon every Occasion, introduce the celestial Powers acting by Dreams, Oracles, and Prodigies. In this, says Mr. *Rollin*, he is indisputably preferable to *Herodotus*, who has not so strict a Regard to Truth in his Relations, and betrays in many Instances an inexcusable Weakness and Superstition.

*Fifthly*, *Dionysius* accuses *Thucydides* of a Gloominess of Character, and a natural Roughness of Temper, which his Banishment had exasperated. He dwells upon the Faults and Errors of his Personages, and if he sometimes notes their good Qualities and Successes, he seems to do it with regret. Mr. *Rollin* finds nothing of this Disposition in *Thucydides*. He perceives indeed, that his Matter was sad and melancholy, but not the Historian. *Dionysius* discerns a Disposition in *Herodotus*, quite different from that which he ascribes to his opposite, *viz.* a good Nature always equal, with an extreme Sensibility for the good and bad Fortune of his Country.

*Answer*

*Another Point on which the Characters of our Hiſtorians turn, is that of Elocution.*

In reſpect to this, ſeveral Things may be conſidered. *Firſt*, Purity, Propriety, and Elegance of Language. Theſe Qualities are common to both theſe Writers, who equally excelled in them. *Secondly*, Diffuſion or Brevity of Style. Theſe particularly diſtinguiſh and characterize them. The Style of *Herodotus* is ſweet, flowing, and more diffuſe; that of *Thucydides*, lively, conciſe, and vehement. —— This cloſe (and in a manner) abrupt Style is wonderfully proper for giving Strength and Energy to a Diſcourſe, but is generally attended with abundance of Obſcurity. And this is the Caſe with *Thucydides*, eſpecially in his Harangues, which in many Places are almoſt unintelligible. So that the reading of him requires an uninterrupted Attention, and becomes a ſerious Study.

Mr. *Rollin* cloſes this Article with the Character *Quintilian* has drawn of theſe Hiſtorians, which we may very well paſs over, after what has been here ſaid of them.

XENOPHON is the next of the Ancients whom Mr. *Rollin* gives an Account of. He tells us, he was born at *Athens* in the third Year of the 82d Olympiad, and that he was a great Philoſopher, Hiſtorian, and General. He barely mentions his Expedition under *Cyrus*, his celebrated Retreat, and his ſubſequent Employment in the Troops of *Sparta*. This illuſtrious Commander retired afterwards to *Scyllonta*, where the *Lacedæmonians* had given him Lands near the City of *Elis*.

He was not idle, as Mr. *Rollin* ſays, in his Solitude. He took Advantage of the Leiſure it afforded

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forded him to compose his Histories. He began with the *Cyropædia*, which is the History of *Cyrus the Great* in eight Books. It was followed by that of *Cyrus the younger*, which includes the famous Retreat above-mentioned, in seven Books. He then wrote the *Grecian* History in seven Books likewise, beginning where *Thucydides* left off. He also composed several particular Tracts upon historical Subjects. His Style, under an Air of Simplicity and natural Sweetness, conceals inimitable Graces.

CTESIAS now appears. He was of *Cnidos*, and *Xenophon*'s Cotemporary. He practised Physick in the Court of *Persia* for several Years with great Success. He wrote the History of the *Assyrians* and *Persians* in twenty-three Books. The six first treated of the *Assyrian* Affairs to the Foundation of the *Persian* Empire. From the seventh to the thirteenth inclusively, he related at large, the Reigns of *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Magus*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*. He continued the History of the *Persians* down to the third Year of the 95th Olympiad. He contradicts *Herodotus* almost in every Thing, and often differs from *Xenophon*. At the same time he is regarded by all the Learned as a Writer entirely unworthy of Credit. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and some others, have yet chosen to follow him rather than *Herodotus*, and even than *Xenophon*. They were deceived, Mr. *Rollin* thinks, by the Assurance with which he affirms, that he advanced nothing in his Writings, of which he was not an Eye-witness, or had been instructed by the Persons concerned, or had extracted it out of the *Persian* Archieves.

POLYBIUS is next upon our List. He was of *Megalopolis*, a City of *Peloponnesus* in *Arcadia*. He was born about the Year of *Rome* 548. He was educated, like all the Children of his Nation, in the highest Veneration of the Deity; in which he per-



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ſevered with ſo much Conſtancy during his whole Life, that few prophane Authors have thought more religiouſly, or ſpoke with more Dignity of God, than he has done.

*Lycortes* his Father, a profound Stateſman, was his Maſter in Politicks, as *Philopœmen*, one of the greateſt and moſt intrepid Captains of the Ancients, was in War. The *Romans*, after the Defeat of *Perſeus* the laſt King of *Macedon*, *A. M.* 3837. in order to puniſh ſuch of the *Achæans*, as had been warmeſt in ſupporting the *Achæan* League, and had ſeemed moſt averſe to their Intereſts, carried away a thouſand of them to *Rome*; of which Number was *Polybius*. During his Stay there, the greateſt Perſons of that City delighted in his Acquaintance, and among his moſt intimate Friends we may reckon *Q. Fabius*, and the younger *Scipio*. Charmed with his great Qualities, they prevailed with the *Prætor*, that he ſhould not leave *Rome* with the reſt of his Countrymen when they were diſmiſſed.

It is evident, that he compoſed the greateſt Part of his Hiſtory, or at leaſt collected Materials for it, here. For where, as our Author notes, could he be better informed of the Events which had paſſed, either during the whole Courſe of the ſecond *Punick* War, than in the Houſe of the *Scipio*'s; or during the Campaigns againſt *Perſeus*, than in that of *Paulus Æmilius*? The ſame may be ſaid in reſpect to all foreign Affairs, which occurred either whilſt he was at *Rome* or accompanied *Scipio*.

When the *Achæans* were permitted to return home, reduced to the Number only of three hundred, *Polybius* either ſtaid behind at *Rome*, or ſhortly came back to his beloved *Scipio*, ſeeing he was certainly with him three Years after at the Siege of *Carthage*. This Expedition being over, he made ſome Voyages upon account of the Hiſtory he had in view. But how great was his Grief, ſays Mr. *Rollin*, when

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when visiting *Peloponnesus*, he saw *Corinth* laid in Ashes, and his dear Country reduced into a Province of the *Roman* Empire. If any thing could console him in so mournful a Conjuncture, it was the Opportunity his Credit with the *Romans* gave him of obtaining some Mitigations of these publick Misfortunes.

After having rendered his Country many Services, he returned to *Scipio* at *Rome*, from whence he followed him to *Numantia*, at the Siege of which he was present. When *Scipio* was put to death by the Faction of the *Gracchi*, he retired into *Greece*; where he lived six Years, enjoying the Esteem, Gratitude, and Affection of his dear Fellow-citizens, and died at the Age of fourscore and two, by a Fall from his Horse.

His principal Works, as Mr. *Rollin* tells us, are, the Life of *Philopœmen*; a Treatise upon the *Tactics*; the History of the *Numantian* War; and his universal History. This last only remains, and that very imperfect. *Polybius* himself calls it universal History, not in respect of Times, but of Places, as containing the Account of what passed in the known World during the Space of fifty-three Years, *viz.* from the Beginning of the second *Punick* War, to the Reduction of the Kingdom of *Macedonia* into a Province of the *Roman* Empire.

No History presents us, in so short a Space of Time, with so great a Diversity of Events, all of them decisive, and of the last Importance. —— The Historian composed of them thirty-eight Books, in the Front of which he had placed two, by way of Introduction to the others, and of Continuation to the History of *Timæus*. The whole consisted therefore of forty Books, of which we have only the five first as *Polybius* left them, and Fragments, sometimes considerable enough, of the



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twelve that follow, with the *Embaſſies*, and *Examples of Virtue and Vice.*

Mr. *Rollin* reflects with the deepeſt Concern on the Misfortune the World has ſuſtained by the Loſs of ſo great a Part of this invaluable Hiſtory, which not only contained a Number of the moſt illuſtrious Tranſactions, but abounded with moſt excellent Maxims of Policy, and the ſolid Reflections of a Man, who, with a natural Paſſion for publick Good, had made it his whole Study.

His Digreſſions have been often condemned. Our Author owns they are long and frequent; but then, he ſays, they abound with ſuch curious Facts, and uſeful Documents, that we ought not only to pardon him that Fault, if it be one, but think ourſelves obliged to him for it.

*Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* flatly tells us, that no Patience can endure the Peruſal of this Writer; and his Reaſon is, the Inelegance of his Diction: That is, ſays Mr. *Rollin*, his Hiſtory has not ſuch round, flowing, numerous Periods, as he himſelf uſes; which in Hiſtory would have been a Fault rather than a Beauty: So injudicious is *Dionyſius* in this Cenſure. We proceed to

DIODORUS SICULUS. He lived in the Times of *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*. His *Hiſtorical Library* contains the Hiſtory of almoſt all the Nations of the World, *viz. Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and ſeveral others. It conſiſted of forty Books. Of theſe only fifteen remain, with ſome Fragments, moſt of them preſerved by *Photius*, and the Extracts of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*. The five firſt follow each other in their order.

In the firſt, *Diodorus* treats of the Origin of the World, and of what relates to *Egypt*. In the ſecond, of the firſt Kings of *Aſia*, from *Ninus* to *Sarda-*

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*Sardanapalus*; of the *Medes*, *Indians*, *Scythians*, and *Arabians*. In the third, of the *Æthiopians* and *Libyans*. In the fourth, of the fabulous History of the *Greeks*. In the fifth, of the fabulous History of *Sicily*, and the other Islands.

The sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth Books are lost.

The following seven, from the eleventh to the seventeenth inclusively, contain the History of ninety Years, from the Expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece* to the Death of *Alexander the Great*.

The three succeeding, *viz.* the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, treat of the Disputes and Wars of *Alexander*'s Successors, down to the Disposition of the two Armies for the Battle of *Issus*.

In these last ten Books, which properly include the continued History of the *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Macedonians*, *Diodorus* introduces also the History of other Nations, and in particular that of the *Romans*, according as its Events concur with his principal Subject.

He employed thirty Years in composing this History; for the perfecting of which he ran over, not without frequent Dangers, many Provinces of *Europe* and *Asia*, to inform himself fully in the Situation of the Cities and other Places of which he was to treat.

His Style is neither elegant nor florid, but simple, clear, and intelligible: That Simplicity has however nothing low or disagreeable in it. He is sparing of Harangues, yet he has recited those of two Orators, which are long and very fine, especially the first.

Neither his Chronology, nor the Names either of the *Archons* of *Athens* or of the Consuls and military Tribunes of *Rome*, into which many Errors have crept, are to be relied on.



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He has many judicious Reflections, and seems to be of a religious Disposition, ascribing all important Events to the Divine Wisdom and Providence presiding over them. We come now to

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS. He was a Native of *Halicarnassus*, a City of *Caria* in *Asia Minor*. He arrived in *Italy* about the Middle of the 187th Olympiad, at the Conclusion of the War between *Augustus Cæsar* and *Mark Antony*. He remained twenty-two Years at *Rome*, which he employed in attaining the *Latin* Tongue with great exactness, in studying the Literature and Writings of the *Romans*, and in collecting for the Work he had in view: For that seems to have been the Motive of his going thither. In order to succeed the better in his Design, he contracted a great Intimacy with all the most learned Persons of *Rome*. To their Informations he added a close Application to the Study of the *Roman* Historians in greatest Esteem, as *Cato*, *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and *Licinius Macer*. When he believed himself sufficiently informed in all that was necessary to the Execution of his Project, he applied himself thereto. He entitled his Work, *The Roman Antiquities*, because, in writing the *Roman* History, he traces it back to its Origin. His Account comes down to the first *Punick* War, at which Period he stopped, perhaps, because his main View was to clear up the more obscure Part of the *Roman* Story: For, from the first *Punick* War, it had been wrote by cotemporary Authors that were in every Body's Hands.

Of the twenty Books, that compose his *Antiquities*, we have only the first eleven, which come no lower than the 312th Year from the Foundation of *Rome*. The nine last, which contained all that happen'd to the 488th, according to *Cato*, and the 490th, according to *Varro*, are perished. We have

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have also some Fragments of his upon the Subject of Embassies, which are only detached and very imperfect Pieces. The two Heads, as Mr. *Rollin* says, of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* which remain, have also preserved several Fragments of this Author.

All Writers, who have spoken with any Judgment of him, praise his Facility of Genius, profound Erudition, exact Discernment, and judicious Criticism. He was versed in all the liberal Arts and Sciences, a good Philosopher, a wise Politician, and an excellent Rhetorician. He has drawn himself in his Work. We see him there a Friend of Truth, remote from all Prejudice, temperate, zealous for Religion, and a declared Enemy of the Impiety which denies Providence.

He does not content himself with relating the Wars abroad; but describes with equal Care those Transactions of Peace, that conduce to the Order, Tranquillity, and Prosperity of the Common-weal. He does not tire his Readers with tedious Narrations. If he deviates into Digressions, it is always to instruct us in something new and agreeable. He mingles his Relations with moral and political Reflections, which are the principal Advantages of studying History. He treats his Subject with far more Copiousness than *Livy*.

What we have left of him, very happily supplies the Deficiencies of the other *Latin* Historians. He is the only one that has given us the perfect Knowledge of the *Romans*, and has transmitted to Posterity a circumstantial Account of their Ceremonies, Worship, Sacrifices, Manners, Customs, Discipline, Triumphs, *Comitia* or Assemblies, *Census* or the Numbering, Assessing, and Distribution of the People into Tribes and Classes. We are indebted to him for the Laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and *Servius Tullius*, and for many Things of the



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like Nature. His Style is weak, prolix, and languid.

The next Characters are those of PHILO, APION, and JOSEPHUS. The first was a *Jew* of *Alexandria*, of sacerdotal and illustrious Descent. His Deputation to *Caligula* is well known. He was remarkable for his Learning, and especially in the *Platonick* Philosophy. Beside many other Works, he wrote the Sufferings of his People under the above mentioned Emperor, in five Books; the two first of which only have been preserved.

APION was born at *Oasis*, in the most remote Part of *Egypt*. He obtained the Freedom of *Alexandria*, and was at the Head of those whom that City sent to *Caligula*, with a Complaint against the *Jewish* Inhabitants. — He was a Man of great Erudition, and perfectly versed in the *Grecian* History, but very conceited of his own Merit. — His Account of *Egypt* contained almost every Thing that was memorable in that famous Country. He had the utmost Contempt and Abhorrence of the *Hebrews*, of whom he industriously collected and published all kinds of Calumny.

JOSEPHUS was of *Jerusalem*, of the sacerdotal Race. He was born in the first Year of *Caligula*. At the Age of fourteen he was so well instructed, that even the Pontiffs consulted him concerning the Law. He was of the Sect of the *Pharisees*. At the Age of nineteen he began to have a Share in the publick Administration. His Valour and Conduct in military Affairs were not inferior to his Ability for those of the State. Mr. *Rollin* just mentions some Particulars of his Life. The Sum of what he says concerning him as a Writer is, That he most probably learnt the *Greek* Tongue, after the taking of *Jotaphat*, and when he saw himself obliged to live with the *Romans*. That he employed

ployed the Leisure he enjoyed at *Rome* in writing the History of the *Jewish* Wars from the Materials he had before prepared. He composed it first in his own Language, which was almost the same as the *Syriac*. He afterwards translated it into *Greek*, that it might be understood throughout the Empire. He professes relating with entire Veracity all that passed in that War. As soon as he had finished the *Greek* Version, he presented it to *Vespasian* and *Titus*, who were extremely pleased with it. The latter not only ordered it to be published, and placed it in a Library open to every Body; but signed the Copy deposited there with his own Hand to signify his Approbation of its Authenticity.

Mr. *Rollin* has given us a Character of this Historian from *Photius* and *Jerom*. This latter stiles him the *Livy* of the *Greeks*. *Photius* says his History is agreeable, sublime, and majestick, without any culpable Excess of those Qualities. That it is lively and animated, abounding with that Eloquence, which either excites or calms the Passions of the Soul at Pleasure; that it is fraught with excellent Maxims of Morality; that the Orations are delicate and persuasive; and that, when it is necessary to support the Opinions of the opposite Parties, it is surprisingly fruitful of ingenious and plausible Reasonings on both Sides.

As to his *Jewish Antiquities*, in twenty Books, he compleated them, Mr. *Rollin* says, in the Year of Christ 93. It appears that he inscribed them to *Epaphroditus*, a curious and learned Person, who is believed to be the celebrated Freedman of *Nero*, that *Domitian* put to death, *A. D.* 95.

He professes in this Work an exact Conformity to the sacred Writings. But Mr. *Rollin* censures him for inserting Facts which are not in the sacred Oracles, retrenching many others, and disguising some in a manner that divests them of the miracu-

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lous and majeſtick Air which cloaths them in the divine Records. Mr. *Rollin* briefly takes notice of his Life, which he himſelf wrote; and of his Confutation of the Slanders of *Apion*, in the two Books which he compoſed purpoſely againſt him. We proceed to one of the moſt learned and excellent Writers of all Antiquity,

PLUTARCH. He was of *Chæronea*, a Town of *Bœotia*, and deſcended from one of the beſt and moſt conſiderable Families of that Place. His Birth, as near as can be conjectured, happened five or ſix Years before the Death of the Emperor *Claudius*. He ſtudied Philoſophy and Mathematicks at *Delphi*, under the Philoſopher *Ammonius*, when he was ſeventeen or eighteen Years of Age. It appears from ſome Paſſages Mr. *Rollin* has related, that his Talents diſplayed themſelves very early in his native Country. —— He made many Voyages into *Italy*. —— During his Stay at *Rome*, his Houſe was the Rendezvous of the Learned, amongſt whom were the greateſt Perſonages of the City, who went thither to hear his Diſcourſes upon the different Subjects of Philoſophy. —— Theſe were always in *Greek*. For tho' the *Latin* Tongue was uſed throughout the Empire, he did not underſtand it well enough to ſpeak it. —— But the *Greek* was well known at *Rome*, and, properly ſpeaking, was the Language of the Sciences. —— This Unſkilfulneſs in the *Latin* was however the Cauſe of ſome Faults which are to be obſerved in his Writings.

He diſcharged the moſt conſiderable Offices in his own Nation, and even that of *Archon*, or Chief Magiſtrate, after having paſt through the inferior Employments, with equal Diligence, Care, and Approbation of the Publick.

He was punctual in the Performance of all relative Duties; was of a prudent, moderate, and obliging

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liging Deportment; and had the Pleasure, in consequence of so amiable a Conduct, to find in his domestick Affairs, and throughout his Family, all the Peace and Satisfaction he could desire.—— He had a Nephew, called *Sextus*, a Philosopher of such great Learning and Reputation, that he was sent for to *Rome* to teach the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* the *Grecian* Literature. On these Particulars Mr. *Rollin* expatiates in his Account of *Plutarch*.

His Works are divided into two Classes, the Lives of illustrious Men, and his Morals. In the latter, Mr. *Rollin* says, there are a great Number of curious Facts not to be found elsewhere, with very useful Lessons, both for the Conduct of private Life, and the Administration of publick Affairs, and even admirable Principles concerning the Divinity, Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul; "but with a Mixture every-where of the "absurd and ridiculous Opinions which we find "in almost all the *Pagans*. The Ignorance also of "true Physicks renders the reading of many of "these Tracts tedious and disagreeable.

The most esteemed Part of *Plutarch*'s Works is his Lives of illustrious Men, *Greeks* and *Romans*. We have not all he composed; at least sixteen of them being lost. Those, Mr. *Rollin* says, of which the Loss is most to be regretted, are the Lives of *Epaminondas* and the two *Scipios Africani*. The Comparisons of *Themistocles* and *Camillus*, of *Pyrrhus* and *Marius*, of *Phocion* and *Cato*, and of *Cæsar* and *Alexander*, are also wanting.

Mr. *Rollin* thinks, a Man of fine Taste must prefer these to all the Books of profane Antiquity. They are not only the most accomplished Pieces we have, but the most proper for forming Men, either for publick Affairs and Functions abroad, or for private and domestick Life.—— *Plutarch* usually judges of Things by what constitutes their real Value.

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Value. The wise Reflections, which he scatters every where in his Writings, accustom his Readers to think in the same manner, and teach them wherein true Greatness and solid Glory consist.

There are many other Encomiums which Mr. *Rollin* bestows upon this excellent Author. He observes, that he divests his Heroes of all foreign Glare and Disguise; he shews them as they are in themselves; —— he follows them into the most secret Recesses of their Houses, examines them, as one may say, in their Dishabillee, listens to their most familiar Conversations, considers them at Table where Constraint rarely comes, and even at Play, where Disguise is still more unusual. ——

As to the Style of *Plutarch*, his Diction is neither pure nor elegant; but it has a wonderful Force and Energy in painting the livelieſt Images in few Words, in venting the sharpest and most piercing Things, and in expressing noble and sublime Thoughts. He has frequently Comparisons, which infuse Abundance of Grace and Light into his Narrations and Reflections; and has Harangues of inimitable Beauty, almost always in the strong and vehement Style.

This Article closes with an high Commendation of M. *Amiot*'s old Translation of *Plutarch*, and some Remarks on the Decay of the Energy of the *French* Tongue.

The other *Greek* Historians, of whom Mr. *Rollin* gives an Account, are, *Arrian*, *Ælian*, *Appian*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Dion Cassius*, *Herodian*, *Eunapius*, *Zosimus*, and *Photius*. We decline entering into the Characters of any but the most eminent, and so proceed now to the *Latins*.

Our Author introduces their Memoirs with a brief Representation of the primitive State of the *Roman* History. It consisted at first only, as he tells us, of simple *Memorandums* drawn up by the *Pontifex Maximus*,

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*mus*, who regularly ſet down every Year the moſt conſiderable Events, either in War or Peace; and this Cuſtom, eſtabliſhed very early at *Rome*, ſubſiſted to the time of *P. Mucius*, who had that Office, *A. R.* 629 or 631. The Name of *Annales Maximi* were given to theſe Records.

In thoſe early Days, we may ſuppoſe, theſe Memorials were very rudely expreſs'd. The moſt remarkable Incidents only were ſet down, the Times and Places wherein they happened, the Names and Conditions of the Perſons who had the greateſt Share in them.

At length Hiſtory quitted this antique Garb, and began to appear in Publick with more Decency. The Poets, as Mr. *Rollin* notes, were the firſt who conceived the Deſign of improving and adorning it. *Nævius* compoſed a Poem on the firſt *Punick* War, and *Ennius* wrote the Annals of *Rome* in heroick Verſe.

Hiſtory at laſt aſſumed a regular Form, and appeared in Proſe. The earlieſt Writers of it in that way, mentioned by our Author, were, *Q. Fabius Pictor*, the moſt ancient, who lived during the ſecond *Punick* War; *L. Cincius Alimentus* his Cotemporary; and *Cato* the Cenſor: Which laſt has the juſteſt Title to the Name of *Latin* Hiſtorian; for it is certain, that he wrote his Hiſtory in that Tongue. It conſiſted of ſeven Books, and was entituled *Origines*, becauſe in the ſecond and third Books he related the Original of all the Cities of *Italy*. *L. Piſo Frugi*, ſurnamed *Calpurnius*, is alſo cited amongſt thoſe ancient Hiſtorians. He was Tribune of the People, *A. R.* 605. He was alſo ſeveral Times Conſul. *Cicero* ſpeaks meanly of his *Annals*. *Pliny* gives them a more advantageous Character.

The Hiſtorians better known, and whoſe Writings are come down to us, are, *Firſt*, SALLUST. *Quin-*

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*Quintilian*, ſets him upon a level with *Thucydides*. Mr. *Rollin*, without preſuming to ſettle their Rank, ſays, it ſuffices to conſider him as one of the moſt excellent Hiſtorians of Antiquity. The moſt diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtick of his Writings is the Brevity of his Style. —— This Brevity proceeds from the lively Vigour of his Genius. He thinks ſtrongly and nobly, and writes as he thinks. —— The Language he uſed was extremely adapted to a cloſe Diction, and thereby favoured his natural Diſpoſition. It has, as well as the *Greek*, the Advantage of being equally ſuſceptible of the two oppoſite Extremes. In *Cicero*, our Author ſays, it gives a numerous, flowing, periodic Style: In *Salluſt*, a ſhort, broken, precipitate one. The latter often ſuppreſſes Words, and leaves the Care of ſupplying them to his Reader. He throws many Words and Phraſes together, without any Conjunctions, which give a kind of Impetuoſity to his Diſcourſe. He makes no Scruple of uſing obſolete Words in his Hiſtory, ſo they are but ſhorter, and more energetic than thoſe in faſhion. But he eſpecially abounds with Metaphors, and thoſe not the modeſteſt and leaſt glowing, but the moſt conciſe, the boldeſt, and the moſt lively. ——

We know not which to admire moſt, his Deſcriptions, Characters, or Harangues: For he ſucceeds alike in them all. —— Nothing can be added to their Force, Spirit and Eloquence. ——

Beſides the Wars of *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, *Salluſt* wrote a general Hiſtory of the Events that happened during a certain Number of Years, of which amongſt other Fragments there are ſeveral perfectly fine Diſcourſes left us.

*Secondly*, LIVY. He was born in *Padua*, in the Conſulſhip of *Gabienus* and *Piſo*, fifty-eight Years before the Chriſtian *Æra*. He had a Son, to whom he wrote a Letter upon Education and the Studies

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Studies proper for Youth; of which we ought very much to regret the Loss. He also composed some philosophical Works and Dialogues, in which Philosophy had a Part.

But his great Work, as Mr. *Rollin* says, was the *Roman* History, in an hundred and forty, or an hundred forty-two Books, from the Foundation of *Rome* to the Death and Funeral of *Drusus*, *A. R.* 743. We find from some Dates therein, that he employed the whole Time between the Battle of *Actium* and the Death of *Drusus* in composing it, that is, about one and twenty Years. But he published it from time to time in Parts; and this was what acquired him so great a Reputation at *Rome*, and the honourable Visit of a Stranger from the remotest Part of *Spain*, who took so long a Journey only for the sake of seeing him.—This Stranger found nothing so rare and precious in that Capital of the World as *Livy*. After having enjoyed his Conversation, and entertained himself with reading his History, he returned with Pleasure and Content to his own Country.

Nothing more is known of what regards this Writer personally. He passed a great Part of his Life at *Rome*, esteemed and honoured by the Great, as he deserved. He died at *Padua*, aged threescore and sixteen, in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*.

Only thirty-five Books of his History are come down to us, which is not the fourth Part of the Work, and even some of them imperfect. It is doubted whether he himself divided his History into Decads.

In respect to the Epitomes in the Front of each Book, the Learned do not believe them done either by *Livy* or *Florus*. Whoever the Author was, they have their Use, as they serve to shew of what the Books we have lost treated.

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Mr. *Rollin* has thrown together a Character of this Hiſtory, which imports that there reigns in it a perfect Eloquence, that there is throughout an Equality of Spirit and Style, a noble Simplicity, an unaffected Beauty, a modeſt Sublimity and Grandeur, and a wonderful Propriety in the Compoſition, flowing or conciſe, full of Sweetneſs or Force, according to the Exigency of the Matter; but always clear and intelligible. ——

It is not only by his Eloquence, our Author ſays, that *Livy* acquired the Reputation he has enjoyed for ſo many Ages: He recommended himſelf no leſs by his Fidelity. Neither the Fear of diſpleaſing the People then in Power, nor the Deſire of making his Court to them, prevented him from telling the Truth. He praiſed the greateſt Enemies of the *Auguſtan* Family.

In the thirty-five Books that remain of his Hiſtory, he mentions *Auguſtus* only twice, and that too with a Reſerve and Sobriety of Praiſe, which reproaches thoſe paraſitical Writers, who, without Diſcretion or Meaſure, are ſo laviſh of an Incenſe to Office and Dignity, due only to Merit and Virtue.

If any Defect may be imputed to this moſt excellent Hiſtorian, it is an Over-fondneſs for his Country: A Rock, Mr. *Rollin* ſays, he has not always taken care enough to avoid. Whilſt he perpetually admires the Greatneſs of the *Romans*, he not only exaggerates their Exploits, Succeſſes and Virtues, but diſguiſes their Faults and Vices. Mr. *Rollin* cloſes this Article relating to *Livy* with an Apology for him, in reſpect of ſome other Things for which he is cenſured: One is Ingratitude and Want of Fidelity, either in not having named *Polybius*, or for having done it with too much Indifference, in Places where he copied him Word for Word: Another is the

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the pretended Superſtition, with which he affects, as he has been accuſed, to relate ſuch a Number of Miracles and Prodigies, equally ridiculous and incredible.

The next Hiſtorian on Mr. *Rollin*'s Liſt is CÆSAR, who, he ſays, diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs by his Wit than his Valour. He applied firſt to the Bar, where he made a great Figure. His peculiar Character was Force and Vehemence. To this Vigour of Style he added great Purity and Elegance of Language, which he had made his peculiar Study, and upon which he piqued himſelf more than any other *Roman*. He compoſed many Works: Among others, two Books upon the Analogy of the *Latin* Tongue. Beſides the Excellence of his *Latinity*, he is celebrated for a wonderful Talent in painting Objects, and placing Things in all their Lights.

Only two of his Works remain; his ſeven Books of the War with the *Gauls*, and his three of the Civil War. They are, properly ſpeaking, only Memoirs, and he made them publick as ſuch: *Commentarii*. The Perſpicuity and Elegance of Style, natural to him, are certainly evident in them; but he has neglected all the ſhining Ornaments a Genius ſo happy as his could have diffuſed throughout a Performance of that Nature: It is notwithſtanding generally agreed, that no other Work, however laboured and poliſhed, can come up to the Beauty of it.

*Cæſar* undoubtedly had great Wit and the moſt happy natural Parts; but he had alſo taken Pains to cultivate them by aſſiduous Study, and to enrich them with all that was moſt curious and exquiſite in Literature; by which means he arrived at ſurpaſſing almoſt all the eloquenteſt Orators of *Rome* in Purity of Language and Delicacy of Style.

PATERCULUS, who follows *Cæſar* in Mr. *Rollin*'s Account, flouriſhed in the Reign of *Tibe-*



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*rius*. It is thought he was born in the 735th Year of *Rome*. His Anceſtors were illuſtrious by their Merit and Offices. He was a Tribune in the Army, when *Caius Cæſar*, the Grandſon of *Auguſtus*, had an Interview with the King of *Parthia* in an Iſland of the *Euphrates*. He had a Command in the Cavalry under *Tiberius*, and attended that Prince nine Years ſucceſſively in all his Expeditions, who rewarded him honourably. He was raiſed to the Prætorſhip the ſame Year *Auguſtus* died.

The Time when he began his Hiſtory is not known, nor what it contained. The Beginning of it is loſt. What is come down to us of it is a Fragment of the ancient *Greek* Hiſtory with that of the *Romans*, from the Defeat of *Perſius* to the ſixteenth Year of *Tiberius*. He addreſſes it to *M. Vinçius*, who was Conſul at that time, and promiſed one of greater Extent.

His Style is highly worthy of the Age in which he lived, which was ſtill that of fine Taſte and pure Language. He excells principally in the Characters of Men: Some Inſtances of which our Author has cited.

His Narrative is judged to be faithful and ſincere down to the Time of the *Cæſars*, and in ſuch Facts as do not concern them. For from thenceforth the Deſire of flattering *Tiberius* makes him either omit, diſguiſe, or alter the Truth in various Inſtances.

TACITUS ſtands next in the Liſt of Hiſtorians. He was born in the Year of Chriſt 61. *Veſpaſian* firſt raiſed him to Dignities, in which *Titus* continued him, and to which *Domitian* added greater.

He was Prætor in the Reign of the latter, and in that of *Nerva* was ſubſtituted Conſul to *Vergimus Rufus*, whoſe Panegyric he compoſed. He married the Daughter of *Cn. Julius Agricola*, famous for the Conqueſt of *Britain*. Learning rendered him more illuſtrious than his Dignities. He pleaded

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pleaded after he had been Conſul, with great Reputation for Eloquence, of which the peculiar Character was Weight and Majeſty.

It appears that he publiſhed ſome Orations or Pleadings. He alſo compoſed ſome Pieces in Verſe; and there is a Letter of his amongſt thoſe of *Pliny*.

But he is only known in theſe Days, by his hiſtorical Writings. It is conjectured that he drew up his *Deſcription of Germany* during *Trajan*'s ſecond Conſulſhip. *The Life of Agricola*, his Father-in-Law, appears alſo, from the Preface, to be one of his firſt Works, and to be wrote in the Beginning of *Trajan*'s Reign. After a ſhort Account of its Contents Mr. *Rollin* praiſes this Piece as one of the fineſt and moſt valuable Fragments of Antiquity; in which Soldiers, Courtiers, and Magiſtrates may find the beſt Inſtructions.

His great Work is that wherein he wrote the Hiſtory of the Emperors, beginning at the Death of *Galba*, and concluding at that of *Domitian*: Which is what we call his Hiſtories. Great Part of this is loſt. For this Undertaking he aſked Memoirs of particular Perſons: As he did of *Pliny* the younger, concerning his Uncle's Death. He intended, after having finiſhed it, to write the Hiſtory of *Nerva* and *Trajan*; but it does not appear that he executed this Deſign. Inſtead thereof he reſumed the *Roman* Hiſtory from the Death of *Auguſtus* to the Reign of *Galba*; and this is the Part which he calls his *Annals*, becauſe he endeavoured to introduce all the Events under their reſpective Years; which however he does not always obſerve in relating ſome Wars. — Of the four Emperors, whoſe Hiſtory he wrote in his Annals, *viz. Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, only that of the firſt and laſt are come down to us almoſt entire: We however want three Years of *Tiberius*, and the lat-



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ter Part of *Nero*'s Reign. *Caligula* is entirely loſt, and we have only the End of *Claudius*. He deſigned alſo to have wrote the Hiſtory of *Auguſtus*: But there is Reaſon to think he did not.

That Part which we have of *Tiberius*'s Reign, is judged his Maſter-piece in reſpect to Politicks.

As to the Style of *Tacitus*, we muſt own it very obſcure: It is ſometimes even hard and ſtiff, and has not all the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue. But he excells in expreſſing much Senſe in few Words, which gives a very peculiar Force, Energy, and Spirit to his Diſcourſe. He excells alſo in painting Objects, ſometimes with Brevity, and ſometimes with greater Extent, but always in lively Colours, that in a manner ſet what he deſcribes before our Eyes, and (which is his peculiar Character) ſuggeſt much more than they expreſs: Some Examples of this our Author has produced from the Life of *Agricola*.

*Tacitus* ſometimes mingles his Facts with very judicious Reflections. This he does in a wonderful Manner, where he extolls the Wiſdom and Moderation with which *Agricola* managed and ſoothed the violent Temper of *Domitian*, tho' he himſelf had frequently experienced the Outrages of it.

It is a Misfortune that we are no better informed in the Circumſtances of the Life of ſo illuſtrious a Writer: Nor do we know any thing in reſpect to his Death. The Emperor *Tacitus*, who held it an Honour to deſcend from his Family, decreed that his Works ſhould be placed in all Libraries, and that ten Copies ſhould be made of them every Year at the Expence of the Publick, in order to their being more correct.

Mr. *Rollin* is very brief in his Accounts of the remaining *Latin* Hiſtorians, *viz. Quintus Curtius*, *Suetonius*, *Lucius Florus*, *Juſtin*, the Writers of the *Auguſtan Hiſtory*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Ammianus Marcel-*

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*Marcellinus*, and *Eutropius*. The principal things he says of them are as follow.

It is not certainly known when QUINTUS CURTIUS lived: Some placing him in the Reign of *Augustus* or *Tiberius*, and others in that of *Vespasian*, and even of *Trajan*. He wrote the History of *Alexander the Great* in ten Books, of which the two first are perished, and which have been supplied by *Frenshemius*.

His Style is florid and agreeable. He abounds with wise Reflections, and has many very fine Harangues, but generally too tedious. His Thoughts, which are full of Wit, and often very solid, have however an affected Glitter, not entirely of the Stamp of the *Augustan* Age.

He is reproached with Ignorance in respect to Astronomy, Geography, the Dates of his Events, and even the most known Effects of Nature.

SUETONIUS was the Son of *Suetonius Lenis*, a Tribune of the thirteenth Legion, who was at the Battle of *Bedriacum*, where the Troops of *Vitellius* were defeated by *Otho*. He flourished in the Reigns of *Trajan* and *Adrian*. He composed a great Number of Books, which are almost all lost. Only his History of the first twelve Emperors, and Part of his Treatise upon the celebrated Grammarians and Rhetoricians, are come down to us.

This History is very much esteemed by the Learned. He confines himself less in it to the Affairs of the Empire than the Persons of the Emperors, whose particular Actions, domestick Behaviour, and Inclinations in general, good or bad, he relates. His Style is strong and simple. He is blamed for giving too much Licence to his Pen, and for being as loose in his Narrations, as his Emperors were in their Lives.

LUCIUS FLORUS is believed to have been a *Spaniard*, of the Family of the *Seneca's*. His Abridg-



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ment of the *Roman* Hiſtory, in four Books, from *Romulus* down to *Auguſtus*, ſeems to have been wrote in *Trajan*'s Time. It is not an Epitome of *Livy*, with whom he often differs. His Style is elegant, agreeable, and has a kind of poetical Vivacity in it; but in ſome Places it has too much Pomp, and ſometimes even Bombaſt.

JUSTIN's Style is clear, intelligible and pleaſing.

We find in him from time to time fine Thoughts, ſolid Reflections, and very lively Deſcriptions; except a ſmall Number of Words and Modes of Speech, his *Latinity* is ſufficiently pure.

Mr. *Rollin* barely mentions the Writers of the *Auguſtan* Hiſtory. He then proceeds to

AURELIUS VICTOR, who lived in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, and long after. It is thought he was an *African*. He was born in the Country, and the Son of a very poor illiterate Man. He ſeems to have been a *Pagan* at the Time he wrote. His Hiſtory of the Emperors begins at *Auguſtus*, and goes on to the twenty-third Year of *Conſtantius*. There is aſcribed to this Author, an Abridgment of the Lives of illuſtrious Men, almoſt all *Romans*, from *Procas* to *Julius Cæſar*: But his Title to this is diſputed.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS was by Nation a *Greek*, of a conſiderable Family in *Antioch*. He ſerved many Years in the *Roman* Armies in the time of *Conſtantius*. He afterwards quitted the Troops, and retired to *Rome*, where he compoſed his Hiſtory, in one and thirty Books. He continued it from *Nerva*, where *Suetonius* ends, to the Death of *Valens*. We have now only the laſt eighteen Books. He wrote in *Latin*, but in a *Latin* that ſavoured much of the *Greek* and the Soldier. He is grave, ſolid, judicious, very ſincere, and a great Lover of Truth.

EUTRO-

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EUTROPIUS wrote his Epitome of the *Roman* Story in the Reigns of *Valentinian* and *Valens*; by order of the latter, to whom he inſcribes it. His Style is more like that of a *Greek* than of a *Roman*.

## ARTICLE IX.

### *A Continuation of Dr.* Sykes's *Connection and Principles of* Natural *and* Revealed Religion.

IN two foregoing Articles an Account has been given of Part of this Work, I ſhall now preſent the Reader with an Abſtract of what remains, beginning with the twelfth Chapter. And here our Author comes to conſider and refute the Objections that are uſually raiſed againſt Revelation. See how he ſtates them. It is ſaid, *Firſt*, "Whatever was reveal-"ed, if it was deſigned for *univerſal* Uſe, muſt be "conſigned to *writing*. *Books* muſt be made; and "*Arguments* muſt be uſed to convince all ſuch as "are not *Eye-witneſſes* of the Evidence produced "for Revelation. Now ſuppoſing it wrote in "Books, —— Men have no Principle in them "whereby to know they are obliged to learn to "*read* at all; much leſs can a Man of any other "Country know that he is obliged to learn to "read *Greek*, or *Hebrew*, or *Chaldee*, or any fo-"reign Language in which the Revelation ſhall "happen to be penned. But ſuppoſe we farther, "*Secondly*, That the Revelation is *wrote*; all to "whom it is propoſed muſt be convinced by *Ar-"guments* of the Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of "receiving it. If therefore the Revelation con-"tain any *Law* of God, it ought like all *Laws* "to carry its Authority with it; and Arguments "ſhould not be urged to prove its Authority. For "no Law is of any Conſequence or Effect, if the "Subject is to *diſpute*, and be *convinced* by Argu-"ments of the Authority of the Legiſlator. There



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" is therefore a double Defect in proposing to the " World a written Revelation: *First*, It is a thing " to be *proved*; whereas the Bulk of the World is " not capable of *judging* of the Force of those Ar- " guments by which it must be *proved*, in order to " make them submit to it: And *secondly*, if it con- " tains any *Law* of God, it ought to carry as plain " and visible Marks of *his* Authority, as human " Laws do of the Authority of their Legislator. " God therefore should have implanted in Men's " Minds some innate Principle, by which they " might have known his Laws, and have submit- " ted to them, as they do to the Laws of the State " in which they live, in which there is always care " taken of a sufficient Promulgation.

" But still there is a farther Difficulty, or rather " Absurdity in supposing a Revelation *written*, or " contained in Books; and that is, that in Proceſs " of Time the written Books must become of *du- " bious Authority*. They must become full of *va- " rious Readings*; one Word will be substituted for " another; and at length the Text itself must be " rendered *precarious and uncertain*. We see how " it has been in fact in the *New Testament*, where " thirty thousand different Lections are already ta- " ken notice of; and how many more would " there be, were more MSS. collated! We hear a " great deal among both ancient and modern Chri- " stians, of *different Copies*, *Corruptions* of the " Scripture, *Interpolations*, and such like Injuries " of Time, and wicked Men, which have render- " ed the Text of the *New Testament* uncertain: " And thus it must happen to all Revelation that is " contained in Books or Writings."

You see how particular and impartial our Author is, in stating the Cavils of the Infidels. With this View undoubtedly, that they may have no Pretenſion to complain of Misrepresentation, or of having

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ing the Force of their Arguments suppressed. With respect to the first Branch of the foregoing Objections, he observes, That it is true, all Men are not obliged to learn to *read*, or study foreign Languages: But useful Truths may be acquired without those Qualifications. Men may be taught an advantageous Doctrine, without being able to read the Original that contains it. And the same may be said of Morality itself. The Knowledge of *good Morals* in order to Happiness is not *innate*. Men certainly, *in general*, attain it as they do Knowledge of other Things, by being *taught*; and when they perceive the Agreement or Disagreement of the Ideas they acquire, they become convinced of the Truth and Obligation of moral Principles. Now as the Bulk of Mankind practise those Principles, the Truth of which they cannot *prove*, so they may any other, the Usefulness of which they are sensible of.

But the Cases, it will be said, differ. Morality is all discoverable by our own Minds, and we are criminal if we do not apply them as we ought. Whereas we have no Powers that can discover any Matter of *Revelation*.

Thus, says the Doctor, but supposing Revelation contains what is seen to be *useful*, when it is proposed; will there not be a criminal Carelessness, if Men should then refuse to embrace it? But, as he adds,

In truth, the Objection is founded upon a Supposition, that a Doctrine useful to all must be designed to be *universally* received. Whereas the contrary may be granted, as he endeavours to evince, without any Disparagement to the Divine Justice or Beneficence. Revelation, he notes, may not be designed for *universal*, but only for *general* Use; and where it is afforded, the Knowledge of it may be acquired without learning to *read*, much less the learning

learning of *ſtrange Languages.* They to whom it has never been given have no Hardſhip impoſed on, or Injuſtice done to them; ſince it was not neceſſary to the Knowledge of their Duty, or to their Happineſs; but is, properly, committing to thoſe who have it an additional Talent; which is no more Partiality or Injuſtice in God than the enduing one Man with better Faculties than another, is.

As to what is ſaid of the Incapacity of the Bulk of Mankind for the judging of the argumentative Proofs of Revelation; and the Fitneſs, conſequently, of its bearing as obvious Marks of the Divine Authority, as human Laws do of the Authority of their Legiſlators; our Author anſwers, That Arguments are the only and the proper Means of ſpreading a Revelation, and inducing Men to believe it. That in order to Men's receiving a plainly uſeful Truth, they are not obliged to be able to account for every Step in its Progreſs from its firſt Author.——"But if a Revelation be capable of "being ſatisfactorily proved to ſuch as can examine "and judge; and others who cannot examine, ac- "quieſce in the Judgment of thoſe who can; and "at the ſame time they who hear it, can perceive "the *Uſefulneſs* of the Thing revealed,——This is "as much as can be expected or deſired; and it is "agreeable to human Conduct in other Caſes.—— "A Man may not be able to judge of the Evidence "for a Truth revealed; but yet when it is opened "to him, and explained to him in its Conſequen- "ces, it may influence him to right Action, and "be a good Principle, tho' he may not be able to "anſwer all Queſtions about its Evidence, which "may be beyond his Capacity.

When it is ſaid, that if a Revelation contains any Law of God, it ſhould as plainly carry the Stamp of his Authority, as human Laws do of the Autho-

Authority of their reſpective Legiſlators. Dr. *Sykes* owns this is true. "Every Law ſuppoſes a "Legiſlator, who has Authority to make and im-"poſe *Laws:* And when the Legiſlator is admit-"ted, the Laws carry an Authority with them. "Whatever is a *Law of God*, ſuppoſes him to be "the *Legiſlator*; and there needs no other Sort of "Reaſoning to prove his Authority, than there "muſt be to prove the Authority of any other "Lawgiver. Should a Man deny the Exiſtence "of God, and thereupon reject his Laws, he muſt "be dealt with as any other Subject muſt that de-"nies the Authority of his Soveraign: For the "Laws of no Legiſlator carry their own Authori-"ty over ſuch as *diſpute*, whether there be any "Legiſlator or not, or who that Legiſlator is. If "by Laws *carrying their Authority with them*, be "meant, that the Legiſlator has a Right to puniſh "ſuch as queſtion his Authority,——This is as "true in the Caſe of God as of any other Legiſla-"tor: For he can puniſh as much as any other "Legiſlator.

Of leſs Conſequence ſtill, our Author ſays, is the Objection from the *various Readings*, which in Proceſs of Time muſt happen to the *Books* in which Revelation is *wrote*. This Difficulty being founded upon what *has* happened to the *New Teſtament*, to anſwer ſatisfactorily to the Ground of the Objection is to reply to the Objection itſelf.

That there are a great many various Readings in the ſacred Books, the Doctor owns, is certain: And that there have been Corruptions wilfully made, may, he believes, be proved; "but that any one "Place of Conſequence has been altered, ſo as not "to be known what the true Reading was and is; "ſo as to render any *Doctrine* or *Duty* precarious; "or that any *Promiſe*, *Threat*, or *Inſtitution* of "Chriſtianity is any way affected by any Corrupti-

"on,

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" on, or various Reading——This ought to be " proved by naming the Point that is concerned." Let it be ſuppoſed, that in ſome MSS. there is a various Reading of Conſequence: Nay, be it admitted (tho' not true) that all MSS. are of equal Goodneſs and Authority; the moſt that can be inferred is, that the Doctrine held forth in ſuch particular Place is *uncertain*; and were the ſame Doctrine no where elſe taught, then it might be ſaid to be *precarious*: But if it be taught clearly in other Paſſages, then is it not affected by ſuch various Reading. This the Doctor illuſtrates, by inſtancing a Text or two as remarkable as any: 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. *Great is the Myſtery of Godlineſs, God was manifeſt in the Fleſh.* The *Clermont* Copy reads it ὁ inſtead of Θεὸς, i. e. *which*, inſtead of *God:* And the *Vulgate*, *Syriac*, *Æthiopick*, and *Armenian*, plainly read it the ſame way. It does not now ſignify which is the true Reading; tho' it may be obſerved, the Doctor ſays, that the Word Θεὸς is not cited as in the Text by any *Greek* Writer before the fifth Century.——Now ſuppoſing here a various Reading——all that can follow is, that one cannot prove *Jeſus* to be called Θεὸς, or *God*, from this *Text*. But then ſuppoſing he is called Θεὸς in ſome other Paſſage, e. g. *John* i. 1. the Doctrine is inconteſtable that Jeſus is Θεὸς.

So again, 1 *John* v. 7. *There are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one*, ἓν, *unum*. This Text, our Author aſſerts, is not to be found in any *Greek MS.* which has not been corrected (and known to be ſo) from the *Vulgate*; or which was not wrote ſince Printing came into uſe: Nor is it read in any *Greek* Writer. " In truth, he ſays, " it grew up in *Africa*; and from thence it " ſpread among the *Latins*; and is now crept " into the *modern* Verſions of the *New Teſtament*, " without

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" without any Authority to ſupport it. However, " were it thrown out of the *New Teſtament*, as ne- " ver having been originally in it, does the Doc- " trine of the *Trinity* ſuffer any thing by it? The " Scripture Doctrine of the *Trinity* ſtands unſhaken; " founded upon Paſſages about which there is no " Queſtion. And the moſt that can be ſaid is, " that no Man has a Right to uſe this particular " Paſſage to eſtabliſh a Doctrine which may be " otherwiſe proved beyond Diſpute, from inconteſt- " ed Places of the *New Teſtament*." So that granting the Objection in all its Force (tho', in reality, it has very little Foundation) " yet as the various " Readings in *Livy*, or *Tully*, do not make the " Hiſtory of the one, or the Philoſophy of the " other *precarious*, ſo neither do they the Text of " the *New Teſtament* in any of its Doctrines or " Inſtitutions.

A farther Conſideration which our Author oppoſes to this Branch of the Objection is That there are many Means by which Men of tolerable Abilities can diſcover the true original Words, and diſtinguiſh them from the Faults of Corrupters or Tranſcribers. Theſe Means he ſpecifies, and then demands, Whether that renders the ſacred Author's Text precarious and uncertain, which may be ſo eaſily corrected and ſet right?

There is another Objection, againſt all *Revelation*, taken from the Lateneſs of it, which the Doctor undertakes to anſwer. He endeavours to enervate it by four Obſervations. I will take notice only of the ſecond, where he aims to ſhew the Impropriety of its being given ſo early, as the Objection ſuppoſes it ought to have been. " Perhaps," ſays he, " we may be able to ſee an Unfitneſs of *Time*, " even in the Suppoſition of a *ſtanding Revelation's* " being given to *Adam*. For if we may conjec- " ture from what actually did happen in the firſt " Ages of the World, ſuch Revelation muſt have " depended

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" depended on *oral Tradition*, and in course it
" must have been liable to all the Interruptions,
" Additions, Alterations, and Corruptions, that
" that Method of Conveyance is justly chargeable
" with. We see how early that important Doc-
" trine, the *Unity of God*, was confounded all over
" the World, except in one Family; and even in
" that it was scarcely preserved, notwithstanding
" the Evidence of that Doctrine was so miraculous-
" ly proved to the *Jews*. When we reason about
" Things which we can know little of, and of
" which we can conjecture but with great Hazard
" and Uncertainty, we ought to proceed with great
" Circumspection. Are we competent Judges of
" *what Time* is best and most proper for God to
" grant his Dispensations in? But if we will pre-
" sume to conjecture, we may with Reverence guess,
" that that would be the most proper Time, when
" the greatest Communication between Men was
" open; when Commerce was spread; when some
" one Language was grown almost universal; and
" when Morality was understood and taught. For
" tho' natural Religion might be at that Time
" much corrupted, and *Idolatry* and *Polytheism* and
" *Superstition* might prevail very much, yet these
" Evils might at such a Time best be corrected by
" the Help of *Revelation*; and *Revelation* might
" be most likely to be received, when good Morals
" were studied, and the Causes of this Corruption
" could be displayed. Imagine any one Nation to
" be open Avowers of the Unity of God, and ve-
" ry many of its People, through any Reason,
" very much dispersed over the World: Suppose
" too, that the learned Men of other Nations had
" taught the Necessity of *good moral* Behaviour to
" Society, to private Happiness, to please the
" Gods; and thus the Way to have been paved for
" *true Religion*, in the midst of all their Corrupti-
" ons:

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" ons: And then suppose a Revelation given to se-
" veral Men, and they to travel the World in or-
" der to propagate it. —— *This* should seem the
" *Time*, and *these* the *Circumstances* which should
" concur, to make it reasonable to give a Revela-
" tion.

I do not design this Quotation so much for the Readers Information in a Subject that has of late been so well and often handled, that he can hardly be ignorant of it, as to give him an Opportunity of comparing what our Author and other Writers have said thereupon.

I proceed to another Objection Dr. *Sykes* employs himself in refuting, and that concerns the *Obscurity of the Places* in which *Revelations* are always given. All Pretenders to Revelation receive the Gift, and chuse to confirm what they say, by Miracles done in little obscure Villages, where Country People are easily imposed on. " Why were not the Miracles of
" Jesus, *e. g.* done in Places, where they were most
" likely to be well sifted, and so be most clearly
" spread over the Universe." To this our Author replies:

1. Whatever is done, must necessarily be done in some particular Place: And a Fact is not the more or less true, for the Place it is done in. If the Facts therefore were *done*, the certain Consequences of them are as indubitable as the Facts themselves.

2. *Jerusalem* was the Capital of a great and potent Nation; and the *Jews*, in the Time of Jesus, were not either an *obscure* or an *ignorant* People: They were dispersed all over *Asia*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Greece*, and *Rome* itself: So that what was done in the Land of *Jewry* in our Saviour's Days, became as *notorious* as if it had been done in any other Part of the *Roman* Empire.

" The Truth is, where a Fact is really done,
" the Persons that see it done, if Persons of Abili-

" ty,

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"ty, are sufficient Evidence, and all others must "depend on the Testimony of those who saw what "was done. — Or else nothing must be assented "to, but what we see ourselves.

But let the Miracles of Christ be done in obscure Villages, yet this, the Doctor says, can be no possible Objection against the Revelation made by him, or his Apostles; because they had likewise the Spirit of *Prophecy*. And those *Predictions* being Matters of *growing Evidence*, and being confirmed by *Events*, — This is sufficient Proof of their having extraordinary Assistances; and if they are reported to have wrought Miracles by unexceptionable Witnesses, one cannot justly refuse Assent to such confirmed Evidences.

A fourth Objection our Author undertakes to answer, results from the Matter of the Revelation, and the Manner in which it is wrote. The Manner is such, that Theologers are constrained to employ as many false and different Manners of *Interpretation*, as Art and Study can invent. Some contend for a *literal*, others for a *spiritual*, and some few for a *rational* Meaning: Some will have them construed spiritually; others *typically*; others still more *mystically*. But besides this, which shews how unintelligible they are, it is plain in fact, that Christians have been endlessly divided in Opinion about every thing pretended to be derived from thence. — And as for the Matter of the Christian Revelation, it is unworthy of God. Some things therein tend to make Men *immoral*; some things are *injurious to Society*; as tending to make *industrious* People *poor*; and other things imply an immoral Character in God himself; such are *eternal* Punishments inflicted for temporary Crimes.

Some of the principal Strokes of the Doctor's Reply to this Objection are as follow: With reference to the various Methods of interpreting Scripture,

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ture, he says, "Why should we not understand the "Scriptures as we do *Livy* or *Cicero*, or any other "*historical* or *moral* Writer whatever? Why are "not the *figurative* Parts, the *allegorical*, the *pa-"rabolical*, so to be interpreted, as the like Sorts of "Speech are in common Books? And if no one "ever mistook the Distinction betwixt the *Letter* "and *Spirit* of a Law, when *Cicero* makes that "Distinction; surely it is as easy to understand "the same Expression in St. *Paul*. If a manner of "Expression in the sacred Books is *hard* or *ambi-"guous*, through our Ignorance of Language or "Construction; this is not more than what is com-"mon in prophane Writers, whose Manner of "Expression frequently puzzles their Readers, and "leads them into different Sentiments upon them.

As for the Divisions among Christians about every *Precept*, *Mode*, and *Institution* derived from Revelation; the Fact is own'd, and the Reason of it, the Doctor tells us, is, "Not that there is a "greater Obscurity in the sacred Writers than there "is in other Books, but that Men of different "Parts, Capacities, Skill in Languages, Interests, "Parties, Sects, read and comment on them. "They bring to *them* Notions which they had im-"bibed, or which have been imposed on them; "and instead of searching the Scriptures in order "to find out what is declared in them, they only "hunt for Evidence, in order to justify their *Pre-"judices*.——But yet, it is not easy to mistake the "great End of Revelation; and there has been "very little, if any Difference among Christians, "whether Goodness of Life be not universally re-"quired: The general Motives to Goodness, such "as the *Resurrection from the dead*; a *future Judg-"ment*, a *Faith in God*; and in *Christ*.—These are "not the Subjects of Debate amongst the Professors "of the Gospel: Or if Questions have arose, they

" have been about the *Modes*, which inquisitive " Men have over-curiously pry'd into, *without* and " *beyond Revelation*."

The Doctor further observes, that this Objection no more concerns *Revelation* than it does *natural Religion*; every Principle of which has been as much debated as the Precepts or Doctrines of Revelation have. Can we, as he asks, infer from thence, that there is or can be no such Thing as *Natural Religion*? Is there no such Thing as *Truth*, because the Question has been put *What is Truth*? Is there no such Thing as *Right Reason*, because Men have maintained infinite Absurdities and Contradictions about every Thing? Have not some that pretend to be *Mathematicians*, disputed about the first Principles of *Geometry*?

Here the Doctor takes notice of and censures Bp. *Berkeley*, who has disputed and denied those Things which have been universally thought self-evident; and then remarks, that " one may as well con- " clude, from the infinite Variety of Controversies " that are and have been, that there is nothing *true* " in the *natural* or *moral* World, as from the great " Controversies among Christians, that there is no " such Thing as *Revelation*; or that the Scrip- " tures are insufficient to convey to Men of common " Sense, Motives to Virtue.

As for what is objected, of the very Matter of Revelation being unworthy of God, because some Expressions therein tend to set Men on persecuting one another; some Precepts thereof are destructive of Courage, teaching Men not to oppose the Attacks of Enemies, but tamely to submit to all Sorts of Injuries; and some Institutions of it are injurious to Society, as obliging to set apart a great Proportion of Time in *Holidays*, maintain a great Number of Priests, and build a great Number of Churches; and it represents God as unjust and tyrannical towards his Creatures, in inflicting *eternal Punish-*

*ments*

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*ments for temporary Crimes.* Our Author answers to these several Charges distinctly. I will take notice only of what he has offered under the last Head.

This Imputation he thinks one of the most manifest Instances of strong Prejudice against Revelation that can be produced. "For Revelation being all founded "upon *Reason*, it follows, that eternal Punishments for temporary Crimes cannot be *revealed*, "if eternal Punishments are *unreasonable*. Supposing therefore that Punishments are in *Revelation* "called αἰδιοι, or αἰωνιοι, *eternal*; if that Revelation can be proved by any just Arguments to "be *true*, it follows, that such Words must not, "cannot, have an *unreasonable* Sense put upon "them. In point of Reasoning therefore, you "cannot argue that Revelation is impossible, be"cause it speaks of Punishments *eternal*, unless "you can prove that *eternal* Punishments are spo"ken of: And that is impossible, unless it can "be proved that the Word necessarily does and "must signify a proper *Eternity*. For if it be *pos"sible*, that that Word *may* not signify so, then it "is very unjust to argue against Revelation, from "what is allowed to be *unreasonable*, at the same "time that a *reasonable* Sense *may* be put upon "it.

"The exact Signification of an Adjective is al"ways defined from the Substantive to which it is "joined. When the Term *good* is joined to *House*, "*Horse*, *Sieve*, *Roof*, *Paper*, *Ink*, it conveys a "quite different Idea to the Mind: So when the "Word, *eternal*, or *everlasting*, is joined to the "Substantive *Hills*, or *Mountains*, or to the Word "*God*, it implies a very different Idea. In the "like manner when that Term is annexed to *Pu"nishment*, it must receive its Idea from thence: "And if *everlasting Punishment* implies, as the



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"Objection supposes, something *unreasonable*, and "contradictory to the Idea which we have of God; "then it will follow, that we *ought not* to under-"stand the *New Testament* in *such a Sense*; but it "will not follow that what our Saviour said is "false. For it is highly unreasonable to put an ab-"surd Sense upon a Passage, when it is capable "of a good one, merely to destroy the Credit of "a Book.

"Without therefore entering into the Question "of *eternal Punishments*, or determining what is "the Meaning of that Expression, it is impossible "to draw an Argument from thence against Re-"velation, unless it can be proved that the Expres-"sion implies *Injustice* in God. Now the con-"stant Declarations of Scripture being that God "will judge the World in *Righteousness*, and it "being *a priori* certain, that the *Judge of all the* "*Earth* will do *right*, it is absurd to bring an Ob-"jection from the *Punishments* which are called "*eternal*, and then to construe that Word as sig-"nifying *perpetual, and as acute at the End of* "*Millions of Ages as they were the first Day*. For "either this Definition of *eternal*, as applied to "*Punishments*, is *consistent* with *Righteousness*, and "then it implies no Contradiction to suppose God "to inflict them: Or if they be *inconsistent with* "*Justice*, then the Definition itself is wrong, and "consequently it is no Objection to the Revelation "of the Gospel.

Our Author closes this Chapter with the Refutation of an Objection against the *Jewish* and Christian Revelations, drawn from the Wickedness of their respective Believers.

The thirteenth Chapter is wholly employed in answering a Plea against the Law of *Moses*, taken from HUMAN SACRIFICES supposed to have been appointed in it, and from the Command to destroy

stroy *utterly the seven Nations*. With regard to the first of these, our Author states the Objection in all its Force, and then at large considers the Passage which is supposed to contain the Foundation of it. In order to a clear and full understanding of this, the Laws about *Vows*, and about *devoting* things unto the Lord, and about redeeming things that were vowed, are all carefully examined. His Discussion of these Points will enable us, he thinks, easily to apprehend the Meaning of the Verse, which has occasioned all the Difficulty. The Verse is—*Every thing which is* devoted or Man *shall not be redeemed, but shall surely* die: † which, he tells us, imports no more than that "every Person who is given in *perpetuity* shall not be redeemed, but dying "shall die in that devoted State. Not that he shall be "*sacrificed*, or be *put to death*, in an extraordinary, "uncommon, unnatural Manner, but he shall not "be redeemed, he shall die in a devoted State."

It will be said, as the Doctor remarks, that our Version has it, *he shall surely be* put to death: Which implies the taking away the Life of the Person in an unnatural Way: And its being opposed to his being redeemed, by the Particle *But*, this shews that it is rightly understood of *taking away the Life* of the devoted Person.

To this he replies, "1. There is no Word in the "Original to answer to the Particle *But*. And, 2. "Suppose there were, yet the original Words do "not necessarily signify any thing more, than the "Person's *dying a natural death*. Thus when "God said to *Adam*, Gen. ii. 17. *In the Day thou* "*eatest thereof thou shalt* surely die, it is not, *thou* "*shalt be* put to death, but *thou shalt* die. For "*Adam* not only continued in Being many hundred "Years after this Sentence was passed, but died a "*natural Death*. So again, when the Numbers of "*Israel* were taken in the Plains of *Moab*, Numb.

† *Levit.* xxvii. 29.

" xxvi. 65. it is said, *Among these there was not a* " *Man of them whom* Moses *and* Aaron *numbered,* " *when they numbered the Children of* Israel *in the* " *Wilderness of* Sinai, *for the Lord had said of* " *them they* shall die in the Wilderness. Not *be put* " *to death*, but, as the *Hebrew* imports, *die their* " *natural deaths*." Some other Scripture Instances the Doctor alledges in Proof of his Opinion, in all which, as well as in divers others that might be offered, the Words *shall die* do not imply a *putting to death*, nor indeed so much as any particular Emphasis; but " agreeably to the Form or Custom of the " Language, the *Hebrews* joined together Sub- " stantives to the Verbs, just as the *Greeks* very " frequently did, who yet meant nothing extraor- " dinary by such Forms of Expression:" Examples of which he brings from the *Greek* Poets. He then goes on,

" To shew how Persons were devoted, or given " to the Lord in *Perpetuity*, we have an Instance " directly and fully to the Purpose in the Case of " *Samuel*. His Mother VOWED A Vow *and said*, " *O Lord of Hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the* " *Affliction of thine Handmaid, and remember me,* " *and not forget thine Handmaid, but wilt* give *unto* " *thine Handmaid, a* Manchild, *then will I give* " *him unto the Lord* all the Days of his Life. 1 " *Sam.* i. 11. When the Child was *weaned, she* " *brought him that he might appear before the Lord,* " *and there* abide for ever. And she told *Eli*, " that she *had returned him whom she had obtained by* " *Petition of the Lord to him* as long as he liveth, " *v.* 28. *Samuel*, by being thus devoted to the Lord, " was not *slain*, or *put to death*. For we find in the " following History that he came to judge *Israel*, " and died an old Man. His Mother *vowed* him " to the Lord *for ever*, or gave him *for his Life*; " and *Samuel* gave his *Consent*, and ratified his " Mother's

" Mother's Donation: Which shews both how a " Person was devoted, and at the same time that " the devoted Person was not sacrificed, or made a " Victim to God.

*Capellus* was one of those who believed, contrary to what is here urged, that the *devoted* Person was to be put to death; and he pretends to assign the Reasons of God's appointing, or rather allowing of these *Devotings*. But our Author invalidates all he advances to this Purpose.

In the last Place he considers the Instances, or Examples, produced of *human Sacrifices* amongst the *Jews*. They are three; and none of them, as he has shewn, will answer the Purpose of the Objector. The *second* is that famous one of *Jephtha*'s Daughter. Here the Doctor first recites the Story, as it is related in the xith of *Judges*. He then notes, the Difficulty of the Case arises wholly from *Jephtha*'s saying, *whatsoever cometh forth of the Doors of my House to meet me, shall be* the Lord's, *and I will offer* it up *for a* Burnt-offering. But, says the Doctor, " suppose a *Dog* had met him, or an *Ass*, " could he have offered them up to the Lord for a " Burnt-offering? Can any thing be more expressly " forbid, than to sacrifice *unclean Animals?* Suppose a *Hog*, or any other prohibited Animal had " happened to have met him, *could* he, or *must* he, " have made it a *Burnt-offering* to the Lord? He " could not have done it: And therefore this Promise or Vow must mean, that if it was a thing " that *could be offered* for a Burnt-offering, he " would offer it; if not, whatever it was, *it should be the Lord's*. And were the Particle which we " translate, *and*, in those Words ——*shall surely be* " *the Lord's*, AND *I will offer it up for a Burnt-offering*, translated, as it is in our Margins, and " as it signifies many times, OR, all the Difficulty " would be instantly removed." In a word, our



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Author shews, that *Jephtha*, in consequence of his Vow, was not obliged to *slay* his Daughter, or offer her up a *Burnt-offering*, which could not be done; but was bound only to devote her to be *a Servant of the Tabernacle*, or *an Attendant of the Priests*, *and so die in that State*.

A third Instance that has been alledged as a clear one of human Sacrifices, is that of *Agag*, whom *Samuel* the Priest sacrificed in *Gilgal*, 1 *Sam.* xv. 33. The Text has it, and *Samuel hewed Agag in Pieces before the Lord in Gilgal*. To manifest how vainly this is urged, our Author explains the Phrases *hewed in Pieces* and *before the Lord in Gilgal*. The first he makes to signify to *elbow*, to *tear in pieces*, to *cut off*; none of which Senses afford any Pretence for asserting that this was a *human Sacrifice*. Nor does the other Expression carry the Idea of *Sacrifice* or of *Victim* with it: "But only, that "*Samuel* cleaved *Agag* in pieces, with firmness of "Resolution, as in the *Presence of God*, and with "a Design to please him." If it should be said, that there was then an Altar at *Gilgal*, and that Sacrifices were there offered to the Lord; all that will follow is, "that *Agag* was cleft down with a "Sword in *Gilgal* by *Samuel*, and therefore is said "to be hewed in pieces *before the Lord*; by which is "meant, that it was done in a *Place* where the Altar "of God was set up; but not at all upon the Altar." With reference to the *devoted Cities*, our Author quotes those Passages of Scripture, both which enjoin the utter Destruction of them and their Inhabitants, and which prove the Practice, in regard of them, to be conformable to the Precepts †. But then he makes it appear, that these Nations were to be destroyed only *as Nations*, that is, "their Polity and Government was to be destroyed; but "there was not any such Massacre as is imagin-

† *Deut.* xx. 16, 17. vii. 1—5. *Numb.* xxxiii. 51—53. xxi. 2, 3, 35. *Josh.* vi. 17—24.

"ed."

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"ed." And to prove this, he shews plainly, "That neither *Joshua*, nor any of the *Judges*, "numerous as they were, nor *Samuel*, nor *David*, "nor *Solomon*, nor others after him, ever understood these Words of the Law in such a Sense as "to imagine, that they were obliged to cut off "every Soul of these Nations, whenever they became subject to them.

A Case, which our Author looks upon as decisive in favour of his Opinion, is that of *Uriah* the *Hittite*, 2 *Sam.* xi, xii. *David*'s Crime, he observes, in causing him to be *slain*, was severely punished by God himself, notwithstanding he was of those Nations devoted to destruction: Consequently, God intended not that the Individuals of those Nations should be destroyed. But whatever our Author may think of it, the Case, as he has put it, is not of the least Advantage to his Doctrine, (which, notwithstanding, may be a very good one.) *Uriah*'s living so long peaceably in *Israel*, with *David*'s civil Treatment of him before his Murder, may be well enough alledged in behalf of what the Doctor is maintaining; but God's Resentment of that Murder, and his punishing *David* on account of it, cannot: And for this obvious Reason, That there is the same Foundation for the divine Procedure, on one Side of the Question as on the other; and *David*'s Crime would have been the same, tho' the *Hittites* were of right to have been all destroyed, as if they were not. If our Laws had condemned a Malefactor to death, and any Man not appointed by Law should kill him, that Man would be deemed a Murderer, and dealt with accordingly. Nor would it fare otherwise with the Executioner of Justice himself, should he slay the devoted Person in any other Manner than the Law directed, or for any other Cause than that of which it had taken Cognizance.

Another Consideration, which indeed seems to justify Dr. *Sykes*'s Exposition of this Law relating to

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to the seven Cities is, That one Clause of it says, *Thou shalt not make Marriages with them.* "Could "there possibly be Occasion for this Injunction, if "nothing that *breathed was to be saved alive*, but "all were *utterly to be destroyed?*" Or what End could it serve, to forbid all *Inter-marriages* with a People that were to be unexceptionably exterminated?

Again, as our Author observes, if the *known Reason* and *End* of the Law could be obtained without this absolute Destruction of these People, then we may fairly conclude, that such Delation was not indispensibly required, unless it was impossible to obtain that End otherwise.——The Reason given for their Destruction was——*They will turn away thy Son from following me, that they may serve other Gods*, Deut. vii. 4. If then these Nations were to forsake their Idolatry, and become Converts to *Judaism*, they would be then what God required them to be, *Penitents*, and proper Objects of *Forgiveness*, not of *Punishment*. But these People not repenting, but continuing the Objects of Displeasure, the Command was utterly to destroy their Cities, their Altars, Groves, and Images; that so nothing might be left them, whereby the People of God might be enticed from the true Worship. But when the Nations were subdued, the surviving Captives (made such by Right of War) might be brought to the Acknowledgment of the true God; and the Occasions of seducing the *Jews* be removed; and thus they might be preserved alive, and the Reason of the Severity be observed, without such Cruelty as is supposed. And that this was the Case, in fact, he evinces by producing divers Instances of Persons all along preserved from this great Destruction.

But will it not be asked, what then is the Meaning of those Words——*Thou shalt* save alive *nothing*

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*thing that* breatheth, *but thou ſhalt* utterly deſtroy them? Our Author anſwers at large. The Subſtance of what he ſays is, The ſeven Nations were thoſe, whoſe Land the *Jews* were to poſſeſs; in courſe therefore they were to be deſtroyed, as Nations; that is, their Polity was to be diſſolved. They were to be ſubdued and ſmitten without Mercy. With other Nations or Cities, Peace and Alliance might be made, but not with theſe. If a War aroſe between the *Jews* and any other State or City, and ſuch City ſtood a Siege, they were firſt to proclaim Peace unto it; if it refuſed the Terms propoſed, and it was afterwards taken, then its *Males* were to be ſlain, but not the Women and Children, *Deut.* xx. 10—15. —— But if a City of the ſeven Nations ſtood a Siege, and were taken, then all the Inhabitants were to be deſtroyed without Exception. But then, if they did ſubmit themſelves, the Law does not enjoin this Maſſacre; but they might have their Lives, and the Nation only, as ſuch, was to be deſtroyed.

The *Hivites* were certainly one of the ſeven Nations, with whom no League ought to have been made; yet by their Art *Joſhua made Peace with them, and made a League*, upon the Condition which they themſelves offered; *We are your Servants*, Joſh. ix. 11, 15. ſave theſe, *there was not a City made Peace with the Children of Iſrael, —— For it was of the* Lord *to* harden *their Hearts, that they ſhould come againſt* Iſrael *in* Battle, *that he might* deſtroy *them utterly, and that they might have* NO FAVOUR, *Joſh.* xi. 19, 20. The Concluſion ſeems from hence, our Author ſays, very natural, "That as they choſe to try their Succeſs in Battle, "and would not ſurrender upon Terms of Sub- "miſſion, they were *cut off*. Whereas had they "ſurrendered themſelves up, they might have had

"FAVOUR,

" FAVOUR, tho' they were not to have been re-
" ceived as *Allies* or Friends.

It may be ſaid, and Mr. *Le Clerc* has ſaid, that " the Words of the Law are very expreſs, *Deut.* " xx. 15, 16, where the ſeven Nations are except-
" ed, ſo as not to be reckoned among thoſe, who
" were to have their Lives, if they ſubmitted.
" Beſides, there is a wide Difference between com-
" manding a People to be utterly deſtroyed, leſt it
" ſhould entice thoſe who ſpared them to Idolatry,
" (which is the Caſe of the ſeven Nations) and a
" Law which orders a People to be utterly deſtroy-
" ed, unleſs it became tributary, and conformed
" to the Religion of their Superiors. Had *Moſes*
" intended this latter Caſe, he would have expreſſ-
" ed himſelf ſo clearly as to have left no Occaſion
" of miſtaking, or acting amiſs in ſo important a
" Matter.

This looks very plauſible; however, our Author thinks it a ſufficient Anſwer to ſay, That it is in fact in this, as it is in many other Caſes; " Wri-
" ters expreſs themſelves in their own Manner;
" and the intelligent Reader is forced to be at the
" Pains of ſearching and comparing many Paſ-
" ſages, if he will have an exact Knowledge of al-
" moſt any Point. Practice will often determine
" the Meaning of an obſcure Law: And in the
" preſent Caſe, we have Inſtances for *five hun-*
" *dred* Years together, of what the *Jews* did to
" theſe very Nations: Which is a Comment ſuffi-
" cient to ſhews us, how they underſtood their
" Laws.

But ſtill it has been urged, " That the very
" Nature and Obligation of the Vow which the
" *Hebrews* call *Herem*, is, that Enemies devoted
" in that Form were all to be *ſlain*. Vid. *Levit.*
" xxvii. 29. And the ſeven Nations were ſo de-
" voted."

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"voted." This Dr. *Sykes* denies. He has made it, he thinks, appear, that the Law here referred to does not enjoin the *putting to death* any *devoted* Person; nor is there a single Instance of any Person *devoted to the Lord*, who was ever, in Virtue of being *devoted*, *put to death*.

But to remove at once the Foundation of this Sort of Difficulties, which all arise from not having an exact Notion of the Meaning of the Word *Hherem*, as applied in the *Old Testament*; in the Sequel of the Chapter, he produces all the Places where that Word is used, and shews its different Senses as he proceeds. By this Induction of Particulars he finds it to have nine different Significations. It signified, 1. As the *Arabic* now has it, to *prohibit*, to *declare unlawful*. 2. Hence it comes to signify an *Idol*; that and all that belong to it being *absolutely forbid*. 3. Because what was unlawful was not to be kept, or used, it came to signify in general to *destroy*; and, 4. to *destroy without Favour or Mercy*. Because that was declared unlawful to be used, which was *given to the Lord*, and what was *given in Perpetuity* could not be redeemed: Hence, 5. what was *devoted to the Lord* in this manner, had the Name of *Hherem*. And hence, 6. what was *appointed to Destruction by God*. Afterwards, 7. whatever was *forfeited* or *addicted* to the *sacred Treasury* by way of Punishment was called *Hherem*. 8. From the general Signification to *destroy*, Instruments of Destruction to Fish and Beasts, *viz. Nets*, were called *Hherem*. 9. Because People that *merited* Destruction were justly liable to *Reproach* and *Contumely*, tho' they were *not destroyed*, they are called *Hherem*.

And now upon the whole our Author asks, "What Foundation is there to imagine, that Per-

"sons

" ſons given to the Lord were ever ſlain or ſacri-
" ficed? What one Place intimates ſuch a Cu-
" ſtom in the Sacred Writings? And what an
" Abuſe muſt that be, to maintain a Notion,
" which has not the leaſt Foundation in Word, or
" Thing, in any Paſſage of the Scriptures, in or-
" der to depreciate a Book which contains the
" ſtrongeſt and beſt Motives to *Virtue* and *Truth*,
" that ever were laid before Mankind.

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A

# VINDICATION

OF

# Mr. *POPE*'s

# ESSAY on MAN,

From the

Miſrepreſentations of M. *de Crouſaz*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Mathematicks in the Univerſity of *Lauſanne*. In ſeven Letters.

By WILLIAM WARBURTON, M. A. Chaplain to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *WALES*.

N.B. *The ſeventh Letter is to be had alone.*

THE

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# THE HISTORY OF THE *WORKS of the LEARNED.*

*For* SEPTEMBER, 1740.

## ARTICLE X.

*The Queſtion of the Precedency of the* PEERS *of* Ireland *in* England, *fairly ſtated. In a Letter to an* Engliſh *Lord, by a Nobleman of the other Kingdom. Printed at* Dublin, *and Sold by* C. Corbet, *at* Addiſon's Head, *oppoſite* St. Dunſtan's Church *in* Fleet-ſtreet, London. 1739. *Octavo. Pages* 110.

THE Claim of the Peers of *Ireland* having been admitted upon the Occaſion of the Proceſſion at the Funeral of her late Majeſty Queen *Caroline*, in which they were allowed the Place and Rank which they had ever before enjoyed, it may ſeem ſomewhat unneceſſary, our Editor ſays, at this time, to publiſh any thing relating to this Diſpute. But, as many other Occaſions may happen of new



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Ceremony, in which the ſame great Perſons may be concerned, it cannot be improper to ſhew this Argument in its full Force, which will inevitably take away all Occaſion or Pretence to repine at that Determination, which has been ſo wiſely made, in a Matter never, as he thinks, to have been conteſted, if it had been truly underſtood.

This Piece conſiſts of thoſe Papers which were preſented to his preſent Majeſty, by the Peers of *Ireland*, in Vindication of their Rights, together with ſome additional Precedents, which for want of Time could not be then collected; followed by the noble Author's Reflections and Reaſonings thereupon.

The Papers addreſſed to the King, include a Memorial preſented by the Earl of *Egmont*, upon the ſecond of *November* 1733, in the Name, and on the Behalf of the Peers of *Ireland*, upon the Occaſion of the Solemnity of the Marriage of his ſerene Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* with the Princeſs Royal, attended with a Collection of Inſtances, produced for Maintenance of the Right which the Memorial aſſerts: The Authorities whereon theſe are founded are ſet down under the reſpective Pages, and diſtinctly referred to.

The Memorial is divided into three Parts, which ſeparate the Inſtances into ſo many Claſſes; each Partition of the Memorial being followed by thoſe Inſtances which ſerve to enforce it. The firſt Rank of Inſtances prove the Crown to be the Fountain of all Honour, and that the Kings of *England* have ever determined all Matters of Precedency. They are deſigned to manifeſt, as the Memorial expreſſes it, "That this Pre-eminence is not dependent on "the Nature of any Order of Nobility; but that "it is merely temporary, and at the diſpoſal of the "Soveraign." The ſecond Set of Inſtances are in Juſtification of this particular Claim of the *Iriſh* Peers;

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Peers; evincing the Right for which they plead, by numerous Examples of its having been actually allowed them. The third Sort of Inſtances are calculated for obviating certain Objections that may be oppoſed to their Pretenſions. I have hereunto ſubjoined divers of the ſecond Sort of Precedents, omitting the References to the Originals from whence they are extracted: Theſe are not only Specimens of the Work before us, ſhewing how well our noble Author has proved his Point, but are Fragments of Hiſtory, the Knowledge of which will not be unacceptable to a curious Reader.

" In the famous Charter of the Liberties of *Eng-*
" *land*, called the *Magna Charta*, granted by King
" *John*, not many Years after the Acquiſition of
" *Ireland* by the Kings of *England*, *Henry* Arch-
" biſhop of *Dublin* ſigned immediately after the
" Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and before all other
" Peers of *England*.

" In the Muſter of Soldiers, in the Voyage of
" *Normandy*, before the Town of *Calais*, in the
" 21ſt of *Edward* III. the *Iriſh* Earl of *Kildare*
" was ranked immediately after *Haſtings* Earl of
" *Pembroke*, and before the Biſhop of *Durham*,
" and the *Engliſh* Barons, *Stafford*, *Talbot*, &c.
" Among thoſe knighted at the Coronation of *Ed-*
" *ward* V. the *Iriſh* Earl of *Ormond* had Prece-
" dency before the Lords *Sutton*, *Grey* of *Ruthen*,
" and other *Engliſh* Lords.

" In the 9th of *Henry* VII. 1497, *Thomas* Earl
" of *Ormond*, being ſummoned only as an *Engliſh*
" Baron, did nevertheleſs take Place of all the
" *Engliſh* Barons of older Creation. And of the
" ſame Nature there are many other Inſtances.

" At an Interview between King *Henry* VIII.
" and the *French* King, the *Iriſh* Earl of *Kildare*
" took Place of the *Engliſh* Peers of inferior Qua-
" lity.



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" Among the Knights of the *Bath*, made at " the Coronation of King *Edward* VI. *February* " the 20th, 1546, the *Iriſh* Earl of *Ormond* was " placed next after the Earl of *Oxford*, and before " the Lords *Multravers*, *Talbot*, *Strange*, *Herbart*, " *Lyſle*, *Cromwell*, *Haſtings*, &c.

" In a Letter from Council, notifying the Death " of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Lord *Ewre*, and the " reſt of the Commiſſioners for negotiating the " Treaty of *Breme*, the *Iriſh* Earls of *Kildare* and " *Clanrickard* ſigned immediately after the Earl of " *Lincoln*, and before the Lords *Howard*, *London*, " *Delawar*, &c.

" At the Funeral of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Mar- " chioneſs of *Northampton* was chief Mourner, " ſupported by the Lord Treaſurer and the Earl of " *Nottingham*; her Train was borne by the Coun- " teſs of *Oxford*, and the Counteſs of *Northum-* " *berland*, aſſiſted by the Vice-Chamberlain. There " were ſixteen Counteſſes Aſſiſtant to the chief " Mourner, among whom were the two *Iriſh* " Counteſſes of *Kildare* and *Clanrickard*.

" At the Funeral of Queen *Anne* of *Denmark*, " Wife to King *James* I. the *Scotiſh* Marquis of " *Hamilton* had Place immediately after the Mar- " quis of *Buckingham*, and before the Earl of *Ox-* " *ford*; and the *Iriſh* Earls of *Clanrickard* and " *Caſtle-haven* had Precedence in the Proceſſion " next after the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and before the " Viſcounts and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Nobi- " lity.

" The *Scotiſh* Counteſs of *Hume*, and the *Iriſh* " Counteſs of *Kildare*, had likewiſe Place after " the Counteſs of *Devonſhire*, before the Lady " *Dawbenny*, and all the *Engliſh* Nobility of infe- " rior Rank.

" The

" The Lady *Ophalia*, Wife to the eldeſt Son of " the Earl of *Kildare*, had likewiſe Place accord- " ing to her Quality in that Proceſſion.

At the Creation of *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, afterwards King *Charles* I. the 4th of *November*, the 14th of *James* I. at *Weſtminſter*, there was a Conteſt raiſed concerning the marſhalling the Witneſſes to the Patent of the Prince of *Wales*, Sir *George Copping*, Clerk of the Crown, refuſing to ſet them down without the Approbation of the Marſhals.

The Queſtion was ſubdivided into three:

I. Whether the Earl of *Arundel*, being Marſhal for the Day, ſhould ſign as Marſhal, or as an Earl according to his Antiquity?

II. Whether the *Scotch* Duke of *Lenox*, being Earl of *Richmond* in *England*, ſhould ſign, with Precedency, as Duke of *Lenox*, a foreign Title, or as Earl of *Richmond*?

III. Whether the Sons of Earls, who were Barons by Writ or Patent, ſhould hold their Places as Viſcounts, according to their Birth, or as Barons, according to their Places in Parliament?

As to the firſt Queſtion it was declared, that the Earl of *Arundel* ſhould have Place as Marſhal.

As to the ſecond and third Queſtions, it was declared;

I. That the ſaid Duke of *Lenox* ſhould ſign with Precedency as a Duke, tho' by a foreign Title, and an Honour merely titular in *England*.

II. That the eldeſt Sons of Earls, tho' Barons of Parliament, ſhould have Precedence by the titular Honour of Viſcounts, and not as Barons: Forasmuch as ſuch Peers, tho' they ſit and have Precedence in Parliament according to their Baronies; yet at large, and at all other Meetings, they ought to have Place according to the Dignity of their Birth and Title.



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And accordingly the said *Scotch* Duke of *Lenox* took Place of all the *English* Earls, and the *Scotch* Viscount *Fenton* of all the *English* Bishops and Barons, with like Precedency to all the rest, according to this Determination.

" On *Friday* the 24th of *March* 1620, there was " a grand Tournament, the Procession began from " *Denmark* House in the *Strand:* Prince *Charles*, " who was one of the Justors, went first, followed " according to their several Precedences by the rest " of the Combatants, *viz.* next to the Prince, the " Marquis of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Lincoln* and *Dor-* " *set*; and then the *Irish* Earl of *Desmond*, before " the *English* Lords *Walden*, *Compton*, *Scroope* and " *Gerard*.

" In the Powers given by King *James* I. to cer- " tain Lords to sign the Treaty of Marriage for his " Son Prince *Charles* with the Infanta of *Spain*, the " Lords are set down according to their respective " Precedencies, and the *Irish* Viscount *Grandison* " is there placed above all the *English* Barons.

" At the Funeral of King *James* I. the Viscounts " *Grandison* and *Valentia* carried the Banners of " *Ireland*, and the *Scotch* and *Irish* Peers preceded, " according to their Degrees, next before the re- " spective Degrees of the *English*.

" At the Funeral of King *Charles* II. the Nobility " of the three Kingdoms walked in Procession, ac- " cording to the Precedence before observed.

" At the publick Entry of King *William* III. thro' " *London* to the Palace of *Whitehall*, on *Tuesday* " the 16th of *November* 1697, the Nobility of *Eng-* " *land*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, were marshalled ac- " cording to their respective Precedencies.

" In the next Reign they frequently asserted and " maintained their Rights in Processions made to St. " *Paul's*, on Account of the Successes of the *Eng-* " *lish* Arms.

" At

" At the Funeral of King *William*, the *Irish* Peers " walked as such, and took place of all *English* " Peers of inferior Quality; among others, the " Lord Viscount *Windsor*, not then a Peer of *Eng-* " *land*, had place of all the *English* Barons.

" At the Funeral of the late Queen *Anne*, the *Irish* " Peers walked as such; and the *Irish* Earls took " place of the *English* Viscounts, Barons, &c. in that " Procession. The Earl of *Arran*, being also an " *English* Baron, had place as an Earl, as had also " the Earl of *Bellamont*; and his Lady had Mourn- " ing sent her to walk as a Countess.

The *Irish* Claimants close this Part of their Remonstrance with telling the King, " As to Prece- " dents of this kind, they are almost innumerable; " the Chancery-Rolls in the *Tower*, from the earliest " Times; the Books of the Council; and the Ori- " ginals of publick Instruments of all sorts, con- " taining Proofs sufficient to fill whole Volumes, if " it were necessary to collect them.

The last Set of Precedents are, as I have already observed, calculated to obviate an Objection that had been offered to invalidate their Pretensions; which was, " That they have not walked in Coro- " nations here.

But this, they tell his Majesty, cannot be of any Force against their established Right to walk in other Processions, since the Peers of *England*, in that Case, walk as Members of the *English* Legislature. Farther, that the *Irish* Peers do not walk, nor ever did walk, as Peers, at the Coronation of their Kings, for this Reason, " That no King is " crowned as King of *Ireland*; an Act of Parlia- " ment having been made in *Ireland*, in the Reign " of King *Henry* VIII. by which, whoever is " crowned King of *England*, is declared to be, *ip-* " *so facto*, King of *Ireland*, without further Cere-



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mony. And that before that Act had passed, there never had been any Coronation in that Kingdom, the Kings of *England* being then invested with no other Title than that of Lords of *Ireland*.

Besides, over and above this negative Argument, they alledge positively, that on all other solemn Occasions, that can be remembered, they have ever been allowed the Precedency contended for. — That in all Acts of the Legislature, the Peers of *Ireland* have been, and are named with the Precedency here mentioned. And in all Acts of Parliament, the *English* Lords are ever ranked beneath the *Irish* of superior Quality. — That the House of Commons of *Great-Britain*, notwithstanding the Service of the *Irish* Peers in that House, do receive them, when any Affair requires their Presence (and they are not Members of that Assembly) with the same Respect that they shew to an *English* Peer on the like Occasion. — That in all publick Entries of Ambassadors, the *Irish* Peers have preceded according to their Degree of Quality, taking place of the inferior Order of the *English*. — That *Irish* Peers have ever carried the Sword of State to and from Chapel, which is not permitted to an *English* Duke's eldest Son. — That they do, and have always walked before the King to and from Chapel, and have equal Right with the *English* Peers to go there into the King's Closet. — That the Queen never visits any but Peeresses, and of these none under the Degree of a Countess; yet, that the *Irish* Countesses have ever been visited by the Queens of *England*.

They go on to say, that the Right to the Privilege here contended for, was never, as appears, interrupted or contested, till about the latter End of the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*. It was then that a Dispute

pute first arose upon this Head, the Occasion and Issue of which our Author has very particularly related: As likewise of a second, which happened in the Year 1621; of a third, which arose a few Years after the Accession of King *Charles* I. in 1628; and of a fourth, in 1667, when a new Attempt was made to take away the Precedency of the *Scotch* and *Irish* Lords in *England*.

And here the first Part of this Treatise closes. In the second, our Apologist undertakes to shew the noble Lord to whom he writes, the Fallacy and Insufficiency of those Arguments which have been alledged in the Addresses to the Crown upon this Subject, and which occur in his Account of the Proceedings of the *English* Lords, but now mentioned.

He begins with the last, the Attempt of the *English* Peers in 1667. He sets forth the Ground of it; which, upon the Authority of *Carte* (Author of the History of the Duke of *Ormond*'s Life) he makes to be, The Malignity of a Party then in *England* against the Kingdom of *Ireland* in general, and a Design of exasperating all Orders of Men therein. It arose, according to him, from the Envy of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others of the *Cabal*, at the Greatness of some of the *Irish* Noblemen, as the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Anglesea*, &c. And he insinuates, that the Dispute which gave Occasion to this Treatise of his, is founded upon the same vain Motives, and might be followed by the like pernicious Effects as that was. He afterwards considers the Reasons upon which the Peers of *England* bottomed their Attacks upon the Rights of the Lords of the two other Kingdoms, and he proves them to be altogether frivolous.

One of these Reasons is of such a Nature, as, if allowed, must render all the Evidences that the *Irish* Peers have produced for the Support of their Claim,

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Claim, quite insignificant. It makes the Precedency they have been allowed in *England*, to be the mere Effect of the Courtesy of the Lords of that Kingdom. These say, "Tho' the Civility of Precedency hath been in Courtesy permitted by the "Peers of *England*, to the foreign Nobility; when "they come to attend on his Majesty here, by "way of dutiful Repair for a short time; yet when "they have *Domicilium* here, it is not fit it should "be granted unto them, lest the Courtesy become "a Custom.

With respect to this, our noble Author observes, that "the Peers of *England* seem to assume in this "Place a very whimsical Authority. —— That "this kind of Insinuation is very injurious to the "Royal Dignity; for tho' they apply to the Crown "with a seeming Modesty for an Abolition of that "Precedency, it is very evident, that if they be "allowed to have created that Precedency themselves, the Inference is natural enough, that they "might take it away themselves. —— But no Record as yet appears, by which they granted to "the *Irish* Lords this great Favour. If there is "any, it is more ancient than the *Magna Charta* "of King *John*; for at that time the Peers of *Ireland* enjoyed this Right. —— The Truth of the "Case is this, that they hold it primarily from the "standing Laws of Honour, which prevailed over "the whole civiliz'd World. —— If the Peers of "*England* consult the Civil Law, they will find, "that the Nobility of a foreign Country are in all "Parts of *Europe* received with such a Degree of "Respect, that they are even allowed the Place "before the Nobility of their own Rank abroad. "Thus a foreign Baron is treated as a Viscount, "and a Viscount as an Earl, out of their own re-"spective Countries. This Rule is constantly ob-"served in all Ceremonials, insomuch that if any

"Prince

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" Prince ſhould charge an Officer of Arms with a " Commiſſion to a foreign Court, that Officer, if a " Purſuivant, will be received as an Herald, if an " Herald, as a King at Arms. The Civil Law is " the Rule of all Matters of this Nature in all " Nations, where the Law of the particular Land " does not oppoſe it. And the Law of any parti- " cular Land is either *Poſitive* or *Preſcriptive*. As " it appears therefore, that the Matter of Preceden- " cy is not in this Country regulated by any *poſitive* " Law, ſhould the *preſcriptive* Law contended for " by the *Iriſh* Peers, be not allowed to have its " Force, the *Civil Law* will intervene, and the " Peers of *England* will unwarily eſtabliſh a Pre- " cedency in favour of the *Iriſh* Peerage, far more " injurious to themſelves according to their Eſtima- " tion of the Thing. For whereas the Peers of " *Ireland* claim only now a Precedency, before " thoſe of the inferior Orders of Nobility in *Eng-* " *land*, if that Claim ſhould be denied, they will " inſtantly become intitled by the general Law of " Nations to Precedency in *England*, even above " all the *Engliſh* Nobility of their reſpective De- " grees.

Our Author reaſons with the like Force upon all the other Arguments that were offered for the Abolition of the Precedency of the *Iriſh* Peers in this Kingdom, in the Year 1667. For Inſtance, to chuſe only one ſhort and eaſy Example, it was alledged, that the *Engliſh* Peers had a Right of Precedency ſuperior to the *Iriſh*, *becauſe* England *is the Seat of the* Engliſh *Empire, and without their Aſſent no Law can be made in the Realm.*

In anſwer to this he aſks, " Is any thing con- " cluſive in this Argument; *The Right of Prece-* " *dency particularly concerns the* Engliſh *Peers, be-* " *cauſe no Law can be made in* England *without* " *them?* Does the Right of Precedency concern " none

" none but those who are Legislators in *England*? " How came the great Officers of the Crown by " their Precedency? How the Order of Baronets? " How that of the Knights? And so on to every " Degree, of which there are many more who " have their stated Rules of Precedency as much " confirmed to them, as to the greatest Peers of the " Land. Their other Reason, That *England* is " the Seat of the *English* Empire, is of the same " kind, and is in substance answered by the same " Argument: But *does the Seat of Empire af-* " *fect Precedency?* Does the King's living in this " Part of his Dominions, give the Peers of this " Dominion a better Right to any one Privilege " in the Nature of the Peerage? If it does, they " hold this Privilege upon a precarious Tenure; " for it is in his Majesty's Breast to inhabit any " Part of his Dominions that he shall see conveni- " ent. That this Circumstance gives them in con- " sequence a greater Influence, is too visible to be " denied; but that it gives them any Right to " that Influence, is a long and difficult Work to " prove. — If by the Seat of *English* Empire be " understood, that *Ireland* is a dependant King- " dom, this is a Dispute of a Nature too high and " picquant to both Nations for a Person in a pri- " vate Capacity to meddle with; but altho' it " should be a Truth of the most incontestable Na- " ture, it would give no Force to this Pretension, " because there must be some Conditions, in eve- " ry Dependence (which is not yet a State of down- " right Slavery) and these Conditions, when they " are not express, are tacit, and then only to be " explained by the constant Usage; which Usage " is strong in favour of the *Irish* Peers. If by De- " pendence be understood a Subjection to the " Kingdom of *England*; allowing the Legality of " that Subjection, such a general State does in no

" wise

" wise necessarily import the Subordination of In-
" dividuals: The Crown, according to the Max-
" ims and Principles of the Revolution, derives
" its Power from the People, and is inferior to
" them in a collective Body: By this Rule there-
" fore, these noble Lords may as well argue, that
" they ought to have Precedency of the King him-
" self.

In some Parts of his Examination, tho' he has still taken care of the Decorum of his Expressions, our Author has not spared to treat his Antagonists with a very visible Disparagement of their Understandings as well as of their Politeness; he represents their Scheme as foolish, disrespectful to the Crown, destructive of their own Dignity and Privileges, and ungrateful to a Nation from which they and their Country reap considerable Advantages. He suggests to the King the Injustice and Imprudence there would be in his Compliance with it; and he lays before his Majesty the Examples of his Royal Predecessors, who discountenanced all Proposals of that Nature. He closes with an Instance from the *Roman* History, which concludes very strongly in his favour; corroborating his general Argument, and exhibiting a most illustrious Specimen of that Conduct which he would have his *Britannick* Majesty to observe in the present Affair.

Since the foregoing Precedents were collected, some others have been found, with respect to Marriages and Christnings in the Royal Family, which had escaped all former Inquiries, and which, our Author says, clear up this Subject in such a manner, that he judges it impossible any further Contest can even be made upon it: These are but few in Number, and he has added them in a *Postscript*.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XI.

*Eléments d'Aſtronomie. Par M.* Caſſini, *Maître des Comptes, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, & de la Société Royale de* Londres. *A* Paris, *de l'Imprimerie Royale.* 1740. That is, *The Elements of Aſtronomy, by M.* Caſſini, *&c.*

THIS Piece is in Quarto, conſiſting of 643 Pages, and a great Number of Copper-plates. The Impreſſion is fair, but not ſo correct as is to be wiſhed. The Preface begins with a Definition of Aſtronomy, and proceeds with a brief Account of its Origin, Progreſs and Uſes.

M. *Caſſini* refers ſuch as would know thoroughly what has been done for the Improvement of this divine Science, to a Diſſertation on the Subject, by his Father, inſerted in the old Memoirs of the Academy: He contents himſelf here with obſerving, that the greateſt Part of the Diſcoveries and curious Reſearches therein (with which he has endeavoured to enrich this Work) are owing to the noble Eſtabliſhments which were made by the late King for the Advancement of Knowledge, as well as to the Protection of his preſent Majeſty, who herein is ambitious of imitating the Example of his auguſt Anceſtor.

Our Author takes an Occaſion of extolling the Magnificence of the Royal Obſervatory at *Paris*, (which in that reſpect excells any Foundation of the ſame Nature) and the ſublime Taſte of the celebrated M. *Colbert*, by whoſe Procurement, and under whoſe Superintendency it was raiſed.

Since the Erection of this Structure, Aſtronomy has made vaſt Advances, and been applied to more valuable

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valuable Purposes than the Ancients could have imagined. M. *Cassini* has hinted some of these, at the same time that he points out certain other things, not fully settled, the Determination of which is absolutely necessary to the Perfection of it.

He divides this Work into nine Books. These are preceded by an Introduction, containing, *first*, a Description of the Sphere; *secondly*, an Account of the *Ptolemean*, *Copernican*, and *Tycho-brahean* Systems of the World; *thirdly* and *fourthly*, by Discourses on *Astronomical Refractions* and the *Parallax*, with two different Methods for the ascertaining of each, illustrated by Examples.

In the first Book he treats of the fixed Stars; of their Situation, both with respect to one another, and to the Circles of the Sphere; of the Constellations into which they are formed; of their Light; of their apparent longitudinal Motion; of their Magnitude and Distance from the Earth; of new and nebulose Stars.

The second Book is filled up entirely with the SUN. Our Author, in the *first* Chapter, speaks of the Spots which are visible on the Surface of that glorious Luminary; and, in the *second*, of its Revolution on its Axis. Under the latter of these Heads we have a Solution of the four following Problems: I. To determine on the Sun's apparent Disk, the Situation of the Parallel it describes in relation to the Ecliptick. II. To determine the Position of its Spots, in respect to the Ecliptick. III. By means of its Spots to determine the Situation of the Pole of its Revolution around its Axis, and the Inclination of its Axis to the Ecliptick. IV. To determine for each Day of the Year, the apparent Situation of the Pole of its Revolution, on its Disk, and the Ellipses which its Spots should seem to describe by reason of its Revolution. M. *Cassini*, in the *third* Chapter, treats of the Obliquity of the Ecliptick;

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tick; and, in the *fourth*, of the true or apparent Motion of the Sun with reference to the Earth: For determining this Motion, he has proposed five Methods. In the *first* Chapter, he discourses on the Sun's apparent Diameter, and the Difference between its greatest and least Distance from our Earth. The *second* comprises the several Hypotheses which have been framed to account for the Sun's apparent Motion, and its Distance from us. The *seventh* Chapter is on the Equation of Time. The *eighth* is on the Sun's *Apogee* and *Perigee*, the Excentricity of its Orb, and its greatest Equation: M. *Cassini* has offered nine different Methods of settling these Points. The two last Chapters of this Book concern the Motion of the Sun's *Apogee* and *Perigee*, and the Quantity of the solar Year; he has shewn us five several Ways of determining the latter. Two of these are by Observations on the *Equinoxes* and *Solstices*; many of which Observations, made by the most celebrated Astronomers, in divers Ages and at divers Places, are inserted in the tenth Chapter.

The third Book is wholly taken up by the Moon. The three first Chapters are on the Phases, the Spots, and the apparent Libration of that beautiful Wanderer. In the subsequent Chapters our Author treats of the Inclination of her Orbit to the Ecliptick, of the Position and Motion of her Nodes, of her true Motion with regard to the Earth, of her mean Motions, of the *Epoques* of her mean Motions, of the Situation of her *Apogee*, and her primary Inequality, of the Motion of her *Apogee*, of the first and second solar Equations, of her second Inequality, of her third and last Inequality, and of the Extent of her apparent Diameter. Under these Heads there occur many curious Problems, the Investigation of which is admirably subservient

to

to the clearing and fixing the Course of this straying Planet.

In the Fourth Book we have the Theory of *Saturn*; in the Fifth, that of *Jupiter*; in the Sixth, that of *Mars*; in the Seventh, that of *Venus*; and in the Eighth, that of *Mercury*. In the Ninth (and last) Book, we have that of *Jupiter's* and *Saturn's* Satellites.

## ARTICLE XII.

*Newcastle Aug.* 24, 1740.

*To the Author of the* HISTORY *of the* WORKS *of the* LEARNED.

*SIR,*

I Have here sent you a short Scheme or Delineation of a Plan towards a compleat Theory of the human Mind. This is a Branch of Science which I think has not been cultivated or improv'd with so much Industry or in so proper a manner as several others have. The greatest Genii of this and the last Age, have chiefly apply'd themselves to the Improvement of Natural and Mathematical Knowledge, and the illustrious Philosophical Societies in Europe were chiefly founded for the Advancement of those.—It is true, we have had several valuable Performances in this View; as, the great * Lord *Bacon's Organum Novum*, Mr. *Lock's* Essay on human Under-

* We have only a small Part of the whole Design of the *Organum Novum*. See. B. 2. Aph. 21 — and 52. Whence it will appear that there are wanting the Seven following Parts. — *De additionibus Industriæ. De Rectificatione Inductionis. De Variatione Inquisitionis pro naturâ Subjecti. De Prærogativis naturarum quatenus ad inquisitionem, sive de eo quod inquirendum est prius & posterius. De Terminis inquisitionis, sive de Summis omnium Naturarum in Universo. De Deductione ad Praxin, sive de eo quod est in ordine ad hominem. De Particulis ad inquisitionem. De Scalâ ascensoriâ et descensoriâ axiomatum.*

N standing,

standing, and on the Conduct of it. *Malebranche*'s Inquiry after Truth. *Mariotte*'s Essay on Logick, and *Tschirnhaus*'s *Medicina Mentis*; which is an Essay towards a universal Method of investigating unknown Truths; and lately the Author of the Inquiry into the Nature of the human Soul, has made an ingenious Attempt towards a Demonstration of the Immateriality of it, from the Properties of Matter. But you will easily perceive, Sir, that these Performances take in but a small Part of the present Design; which is of so great an Extent, that I can scarce ever hope to see some of it's Parts compleatly finished, especially since the Execution of them depends upon great Improvements to be made in Natural Knowledge; and even a tolerable Essay upon all its Parts would require not only an extensive and discerning Genius, but a great Treasure of uncommon Learning. This Branch of Science has a near and intimate Connection with several others in Natural Philosophy, and will receive proportionable Advancements with them: and if this Connexion had been observ'd and pursued, we might have seen far greater Improvements in it. † This Part of Science, when advanc'd, will not only much enlighten Natural Philosophy, but will be one of the chief and proper Foundations of § Morality. It's having been

† *Interim Nemo expectet magnum progressum in Scientiis (præsertim in parte earum operativa) nisi Philosophia Naturalis ad Scientias particulares producta fuerit, & scientiæ particulares rursus ad Philosophiam naturalem reductæ. — Hinc enim fit ut Astronomia, Optica, Musica, plurimæ artes Mechanicæ, atque ipsa Medicina, et (quod quis magis miretur) Moralis et Civilis, et Scientiæ etiam Logicæ nihil ferè altitudinis in profundo, sed per superficiem et varietatem rerum tantum labantur.* Bac. Org. Nov. L. 1 Aph. 80.—

§ *Si illi (i. e. qui de re morali scripsere) antequam ad populares et receptas notiones Virtutis, Vitii, doloris, voluptatis, &c. se applicassent, supersedissent paulisper & radices ipsas boni et mali,*

been abstracted from Natural Knowledge has certainly been the Cause of its Barrenness, and of those trifling and superficial Distinctions that have prevailed in it. But that Metaphysical *Jargon* which in former Ages was mistaken for depth of Learning and Knowledge is pretty much out of Repute; and since the Present Age seems to have much better Notions of the proper Methods of advancing Knowledge, we may at last hope to see this Science treated in a proper manner, and placed on the solid Foundations of Reason, History, and Experience joined together.

I hope the present Scheme will be much better approved, since it is in many of it's Parts coincident with the Views of the great Founder of true Philosophy, the Lord *Verulam*; and aims at the supplying several *Desiderata* which he has mentioned, as will appear by the Quotations I have subjoin'd, out of the most valuable of his Writings. Since I have mentioned this great Author, I cannot help expressing the great Esteem and Veneration I think due to his Writings. No one, I believe, had ever such enlarged Views in human Knowledge, saw the particular *Desiderata* in all Sciences so clearly, or proposed such proper Methods for their Advancement. He aimed indeed more particularly at promoting Natural Philosophy, which he called the Mother of Sciences, but it may appear that he had accurately considered the Objects and Operations of the Human Mind, since he has given a true and compendious History of them (which contains the distinguishing Doctrines of Mr. *Locke*'s Essay) in these few words:

*mali, et rogo cum illarum horas indagassent, ingenium meo judicio lucem, illis omnibus quæ posita in inquisitionem ventura fuissent, affudisse. Adeo nemo se naturæ arcanum non minus quam axiomata scientiarum consecutus est, doctrinæ suæ rhinocerotem magis autem proprium addidisse.* Aug. Sci. L. 3.

——"Hæc quum in Tabellâ quis Intellectualium Origines penes facile cernet. Individua "sensum percellunt, qui Intellectus Janua est. In- "dividuorum imagines sive impressiones a sensu ex- "centæ figuntur in Memoria, & abeunt in eam pri- "mo integræ eodem quo occurrunt modo; eas po- "stea recolit aut ruminat Anima Humana, quas "aut simpliciter recenset, aut lusu quodam imitatur, "aut componendo et dividendo digerit. *Aug. Sci. L. 2. C. 1.* The *Organum Novum* of this great Author is certainly the most plausible Attempt which has been made towards the Advancement of Knowledge, and it is to be wished that some Person of sufficient Abilities would undertake to finish it, which would not perhaps be so difficult an Enterprize as might be imagined to one well acquainted with his Writings and Designs. Since this Author's time considerable Advances have been made in Science by those excellent Societies founded for that Purpose. And it might be both a useful and agreeable Employment, to consider how far the Improvements already made, go towards supplying the *Desiderata* laid down in that noble Work concerning the Advancement of Learning. But this by the bye: We now return to the Consideration of our own Scheme, which may be divided into Five most general Parts.

I. To contain a compleat History of all the Faculties, Operations, and Modes of the Mind. —— as the Perceptive and Intellectual Powers, the Will and Passions.

II. Of the Objects of, and every thing that relates to the Understanding, as Ideas, Definitions, Propositions, Truths, Knowledge, Error, &c.

III. Of the Pleasures and Pains of the Human Mind,



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Mind which may be ſtiled the Objects of the Will and Paſſions.

IV. An Inquiry into the Nature and Eſſence of the Human Soul, it's Origin, Duration, *&c.*

V. The Human Soul, it's Faculties, Objects, Eſſence, Duration, *&c.* conſidered relatively to the material Body, and all intelligent and percipient Beings in the Univerſe. Theſe are the moſt general Heads, a more particular View of the Parts contain'd under each of them follows below, which are diſtinguiſh'd by Numbers.

PART II.

*Of the Faculties, Operations and Modes of the Mind, which contains the three following Inquiries.*

I. *Of the Perceptive and Intellectual Powers of the Mind.* The Hiſtory of them. Of their Procedure and the Order in which they are exerciſed. Their Dependance on each other, and particular Uſes. An Account of the Artificial Improvements applicable to them. Their utmoſt Bounds, *&c.*

Since all the Difference that appears in the Intellectual Powers of Men, ariſes from the different Compoſition and Prevalence of theſe Faculties in particular Minds, the Laws of Method require that there ſhould be ſubjoin'd to this Part,

*A Deſcription of the Wits and Genius's of Men,* to contain an Account of all the fundamental Differences which conſtitute that wonderful Variety in the Underſtandings of Men. Of the Advantages and Inconveniencies attending particular Genius's and Methods of improving them, together with an Inquiry into the Natural and final Cauſes of this Va-



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riety. There is a small Peice on this Subject by Dr. *Charlton*; and another much celebrated — wrote Originally in *Spanish* by *Huartes*. — On this Subject see *Aug. Sci. L. 7. C. 3.*

To an Account of the Intellectual Faculties, Lord *Bacon* thinks there ought to be subjoin'd two Inquiries.

The 1st, *Into natural Divination*, which he distinguishes from Artificial, and defines to be "ea quæ "ex ipsâ præsensione animi internâ absque signorum "ad miniculis præsagit. Quæ nititur hoc supposi- "tionis fundamento, quod anima in se reducta atque "collecta, nec in organa corporis diffusa, habeat "ex vi propriæ essentiæ aliquam prænotionem rerum "futurarum. Illa verò optime cernitur in somniis, "ecstasibus, & confiniis mortis, rariùs inter vigi- "landum, aut cum corpus sanum sit ac validum. "Vide *Aug. Scient. L. 4. C. 3.*" That remarkable Phænomenon of second Sight (which had not I believe been observed in our Author's time) seems to have some Similitude with the Power here described, and is worth Consideration. *See Chambers's Dictionary, At second* SIGHT.

The 2d, Is *Fascination*, which he defines, *Vis & Actus imaginationis intensivus in Corpus alterius. Aug. Scien. Ibid.* Is the Existence of these two Powers sufficiently confirm'd?

2. *Of the human Will and Liberty.* This is a Subject which has generally been treated with great Confusion, and variety of Opinions, which have, I think, in a great measure been occasioned, by confounding this Power with other Faculties of the Mind; and the Ambiguity of Terms. I humbly suppose that several seemingly different Opinions on this Subject may easily be reconciled, and such a rational Account given of it, as will be every way agreeable with Experience.

3. *Of*

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3. *Of the Passions of the Mind*, Their Origin, History, natural and final Causes, *&c.*

To this Part (as in the first) ought to be added an Appendix containing,

*Characters of the Passions*, or a Description of the different Species of Minds from the different Composition and Prevalence of the Passions in them. There is not a less useful and beautiful Variety in the Minds of Men, than in the natural Bodies of the Universe; and that not only in their Perceptions and Understandings, but in their Passions —— There are some Pieces on this Subject, both ancient and modern, well known to the Learned. *See Aug. Sci. L. 7.*

## PART II.

*Of the Objects of the Understanding, &c. which may be rank'd under the next great following Heads, viz.*

4. *Of Ideas*, to contain an Account and Examination of the different Hypotheses concerning their Origin. Their true Origin and History explained. An Inquiry into all their Properties, Relations, and Compositions, under such general Heads as will comprehend all the possible Objects of the human Mind. This Part is a necessary Foundation for all those that follow, and is the chief Design of Mr. *Lock*'s Essay on the human Understanding, which might properly enough have been styled an Essay towards a History of Ideas. Though this be an extraordinary Performance, yet I humbly conceive it is far from having exhausted the Subject.

5. *Of Definitions*, their various Sorts, Methods, and Uses, in all particular Branches of Sciences. I think a *Philosophical Inquiry* into the Nature and



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Use of these would be of great Service to all who can easily be imagined.

6. *Of Propositions*, and their different Species and Properties. — This, upon a few rational Hints, would comprehend an Inquiry into all the Heads, which could properly be treated under Mr. Locke's Head of *Truth*, and particularly those Natures and Properties of *eternal Truths* which have, I think, been little understood, even by those that have professedly treated of them. Mr. *Malebranche* proposed to Mr. *Locke*, a further Explication of these Truths in his *Essay*, but he (for what Reasons I know not) declined it.

Remedies against Error. Mr. Locke's Chapter upon this Subject.

8. *Of Demonstration*, and its different Methods, designed to shew what Sorts of Demonstrations are to be used in particular Sciences. This Lord *Bacon* has marked as a *Desideratum*, and Supersession Judicii insignis quatenus Appendix quæ vocatur desiderata. Sylva Sylvarum sive Historia naturalis et experimentalis ad Condendum Philosophiam fundamentum. Aristoteles etiam notavit, modum rei nullibi persecutus. Methodus tractandi quales demonstrationes quales materias subjecta admittere. *Magni Britannia*.

5. *Of human Knowledge* and its Nature, Extent, and Limits, considered under its most comprehensive Divisions.

*Of probable Evidence*, and its Measures, which in many Views may be determined mathematically, as far as any of which may be seen in the *Philosophical Transactions* and *Miscellanies* of Sir Isaac Newton, concerning the *Credibility of Human Testimony*.

*Of all the possible Methods of supernatural Revelation from the Deity*, and the Evidence which is sufficient and necessary to prove the *Divinity* of any Revelation. — This Head is designed to fix in a de-

demonstrative Manner, the different Provinces of Faith and Reason, and the Evidence and Marks of Divinity in all manner of Revelation, which I humbly suppose may be done demonstratively upon a few rational *Postulata*. — This, with the two last Heads, will comprehend an Inquiry into all the possible Grounds of Assent, and the proper Measures of all Sorts of Evidence.

*Of Error and its Origin*, in all the particular Branches of Knowledge, and the Causes that retard and hinder the Advancement of Sciences: Of Remedies against Error. *Malebranche*'s Inquiry after Truth, is upon this Subject.

*Of a universal Method of investigating Truth*, and the proper Methods of advancing particular Sciences. The only Works of any considerable Value towards the Investigation of Truth in the Sciences, are Lord *Bacon*'s *Organum Novum*, and the *Medicina Mentis*: The first of these was not merely designed for Natural Philosophy, but is a Machine for the Advancement of all Parts of Science, as will appear to any one who considers the Design, as well as by the Author's own Account of the *Organum Novum*. The *Medicina Mentis* must be allowed to be an ingenious Performance, and might perhaps be applied with Success to mathematical Subjects, but there is Reason to suppose, that it can be but of small Service in Natural Philosophy, however, tho' these Pieces be not absolutely perfect, yet they have made considerable Advances in the Design, which may be more easily compleated by future Industry. This Head closes the Consideration of every Thing that relates to the Understanding.

PART

## PART III.

### Of the Pleasures and Pains of the Mind, &c.

14. *Of the Pleasures and Pains of the human Mind, their natural and final Causes.* We have not given a particular *Analysis* of this Inquiry, which is of a diffused, mixed and curious Nature, and will contain a great Variety of Parts, according to the Nature and Origin of the Pleasures and Pains of the Mind. That ingenious Performance concerning the Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, is on this Subject, and Mr. *Addison* has given us a beautiful Essay on the Pleasures of the Imagination in the *Spectators*.

## PART IV.

### Of the Essence, Origin, Duration, &c. of the Soul, under the three following Heads.

15. *Of the Nature and Essence of the human Soul.*

16. *Of the Origin and Cause of its Existence.*

17. *The Soul*, considered relatively to Duration; to contain an Inquiry into the Opinion of its Pre-existence, its natural Immortality, *&c.*

## PART V.

### The Soul considered relatively to the Body, and other Parts of the Universe.

18. *Of its Connection with the Body*, and the Manner in which they affect each other. We may say of this Inquiry, what Chancellor *Bacon* says of another:

another: "Hæc inquisitio nobilis profectò foret "usus, verum (ut ait Socrates) Natatore Delio in- "diget, quia mergitur in profundo. *Aug. Sci. L. 6.* Those who are acquainted with the History of Learning, know the groundless Hypotheses that have been given of this Connection.

19. The History of the Operations and Powers of the Soul and Body on each other, and the Methods of discovering the Modes or State of the one from the visible or perceptible Modes of the other.—to include particularly, an Account of the Manner in which the intellectual Powers, Will, and Passions, affect the Body and disclose its Modes.—And again, in what Manner the Modes and Affections of the Body disclose those of the Mind.—Whence it will contain Inquiries into Voluntary Motion.—The Phænomena and Causes of Dreams.—The Cessation of Thought during Sleep.—The Power of the Imagination on the Body.—The Changes of the Lineaments of the Body by the Passions.—The Seat of the Soul, and of particular Faculties, *&c.*—This Part Lord *Verulam* stiles "*Doctrina Fœderis Animi & Corporis*, sive de com- "muni vinculo animi & corporis.—Fœdus autem "istud duabus partibus continetur,—Nimirum "ut describatur, quomodo hæc duo, Anima & "Corpus se invicem detegant, & quomodo in se "invicem agant.—Harum prior (descriptio scili- "cet qualis haberi possit notitia de Anima ex ha- "bitu corporis, aut de Corpore ex accidentibus ani- "mæ) duas nobis peperit artes, utramque prædic- "tionis, alteram Hippocratis alteram Aristotelis "operâ decoratam. Quanquam autem tempora "recentiora has artes Superstitiosis & Phantasticis "mixturis polluerint, repurgata tamen ac in inte- "grum restitutæ, & fundamentum habent in natu-

"ra

"ra solidum, & fructum edunt ad usum communem utilem."

*Aug. Verul.*

2. *The human Soul*, in Powers, Objects, Knowledge, Essence, Duration, &c. considered relatively to the other Parts of the Universe. To the intelligent, but dependent Beings, which are supposed to exist superior to it.

3*dly*. To the *Brute* Creation below it.

To the whole (as an *Appendix*) ought to be joined an Inquiry into

*Language, or the Medium of communicating Thoughts amongst Men.* This is a Branch of Science which, tho' not comprehended under the general Design, has a strict Connection with several of the foregoing Parts, and will communicate great Light to them. The following Particulars may serve as Heads of Inquiry.

1. Of the Nature, Use, and Necessity of Language, and of the different Methods of it.

2. Language considered relatively to the different Sorts of Ideas it is intended to express. An Account of such general Properties, Imperfections, and Rubbs, as are common to all Methods of Communication.

3*dly*. The History of all the different Methods of Communication, which have obtained amongst Mankind, as Gestures, Hieroglyphicks, real Characters, &c. and their peculiar Advantages and Imperfections. Of the Invention of new Methods of Communication, concerning which Lord *Bacon* has left us the following *Aphorism*. "Quicquid "scindi potest in differentias suas numerosas ad "notionum varietatem capiendam (modo illæ "differentiæ sint sensui perceptibiles) fieri potest "Vehiculum cogitationum." De Homine in Homine. This Part is designed to supply Lord *Bacon's Desideratum de Notis Rerum.*

3*dly*,

*3dly*, Particularly of articulate Sounds, and verbal Languages, which are the most natural, expeditious, and universal Methods of Communication which have been used. The Constitution of verbal Languages, considered in a philosophical View, designed to supply Lord *Bacon's Desideratum* of a *Philosophical Grammar*, of which see below. Of the Imperfections of verbal Languages, and the Remedies against them.

*4thly*, Concerning a real Character, or a universal Language, designed as a Remedy against the narrow Bounds and Imperfections of common Languages. The most considerable Attempt of this kind is Bishop *Wilkins's* Essay towards a *Real Character and Philosophical Language.*

But since Lord *Verulam* seems to have entered particularly into this Part of the Design, we will subjoin his Account of it. He has put down two *Desiderata*.

The *first*, (which he stiles *De novis rerum*) is a History of all the Methods of Communication, besides articulate Sounds, and Writing, as Gestures, Hieroglyphicks, real Characters, &c.

The *second*, (*Grammatica Philosophica*) is a philosophical Inquiry into Languages; but we will give an Account of this *Desideratum* in the Author's own Words. "Ea autem ut arbitramur, foret nobilissima Grammaticæ species, si quis in Linguis plurimis, tanquam fundis, quam vulgaribus eximie doctus, de variis linguarum proprietatibus tractaret, in quibus nonnunquam excellat in quibus deficiant ostenderet, vicissimque & Linguæ inter se commercio locupletari possint, & fiat ex iis quæ in singulis pulchra sunt (tanquam Venus Apellis) orationis ipsius quædam forma nobilissima imago, & exemplar quoddam magis ad animi sensus recte exprimendos accommodatum." This, he observes, is to be very distinct from a Grammar of any particular Language

guage. "Ea autem est quæ non Analogiam verborum ad invicem, sed Analogiam inter verba & res sive rationem seculo inquirat, extra tamen eam quæ Logicæ subservit Hermeniam." He thinks such a Consideration of Language would improve our Knowledge of Ideas. "Vestigia "certe rerum in verbis sunt, & Notionata rerum "intellectualium, vestigia autem aliquid de corpore "indicant." From such an Inquiry into the Constitution of Language, we may form a Judgment of the Genius, Temper, and Policy of the Nation where it obtained. "Atque ita hoc pacto explicentur signa haud levia, sed observata digna, "(quod forsan quispiam non putaret) de ingeniis "& moribus populorum & nationum ex Linguis "ipsorum." Of which he has added several Instances. —— "Quid illud quod Græci in compositionibus verborum tantâ licentiâ usi sint, Romani contra magnam in hac re severitatem adhibuerunt? Plane colligat quis, Græcos fuisse artibus, Romanos rebus gerendis magis idoneos. Artium enim distinctiones verborum compositionem "ferè exigunt, at res & negotia simpliciora verba "postulant." Another remarkable Instance, he gives of this, is founded on a signal Difference betwixt ancient and modern Languages. —— "Annon "& illud observatu dignum (licet nobis modernis "spiritus nonnihil retundat) antiquas linguas plenas declinationum conjugationum & temporum "fuisse, modernas his ferè destitutas plurima per "præpositiones & verba auxiliaria legiter expedire? Sane facilè quis colligat (utcunque nobis "ipsi placeamus) ingenia priorum seculorum postris fuisse multo acutiora & subtiliora." Or at least, that they used more Art in the Constitution of their Languages. This closes the whole Plan.

My

My Time has only allowed me to give this rough Draught of the Design, which contains only the great Out-lines of it, and I have put down the Particulars under each Head just as they occurred whilst I was writing. A particular *Analysis* of any of these Parts would take up a greater Compass than this compendious View of the whole Design.

However, I humbly conceive, that it will easily appear to any considerate Person, that this Sketch takes in all the Heads that are required towards a compleat *Theory of the human Soul*, since it comprehends its *Faculties, Passions, Objects, Essence, Origin* and *Duration*, and considers it in all possible Views relative both to the Body and all other Parts of the Universe: as will easily appear by reviewing the Heads as they are distinguished by the Numbers prefixed: thus

N°. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, *Take in the Faculties, Operations and Passions of the Mind.*

N°. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, *Take in the Objects of, and every Thing that can have any relation to the Understanding.*

N°. 13, 14, *The Objects of the Will and Passions.*

N°. 15, 16, 17, *Its Essence, Origin and Duration.*

N°. 18, 19, 20, *Consider the human Soul in all its possible Relations both to the human Body, and all other Parts of the Universe.*

N°. 21, *Concerning Language, is an Appendix to the whole Design, which will illustrate several Parts of the foregoing Plan.*

Likewise hope, that this *Plan*, when thoroughly considered, will appear to have a just Connection betwixt all its Parts, and to be formed in such a manner, that each of the precedent Parts will be a proper Foundation for those that follow, and that the

 subse-

subsequent will in their turns communicate Light and Strength to those that went before; and I desire that this short Scheme may be chiefly considered in this View. If Time had allowed me, I would particularly have shewn this Connection between the several Parts. However we will just give a few Hints in this Respect, and leave the rest to the Sagacity of the Reader.

1. I think it is very evident, that the History and Knowledge of the intellectual Powers ought to precede the Consideration of the Will and Passions, and that these ought to be separately treated of and considered relatively to each other, since then we shall be less liable to confound those different Powers and Modes with each other, which is the Case very commonly. The Want of distinguishing these from each other, and observing their Relations and Dependence, has been the Cause of great Confusion and many idle Disputes. —— The Consideration of Ideas ought to be subsequent to the History of the Faculties of the Understanding, since from the Knowledge of those, their Origin and Properties may be better explained. —— I think the rational Order of Definitions, Propositions, Truths, and Demonstrations, will be very evident.

2. It would be in vain to go about to determine the Extent of human Knowledge, without having previously inquired into the intellectual Powers of the Mind, the Nature and Properties of Ideas, Truths, and the different Methods of Demonstration. —— All the preceding Parts will be a proper Foundation for considering the Nature and Origin of Error, and the Methods of advancing Knowledge. —— But it would be tedious to pursue this through all the remaining Parts.

The Author of this Plan has prepared some Materials towards a Design of this Nature, but he is too conscious both of his Youth and Want of Abili-

ties,

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tion, to think of entering on so extensive a Scheme, without the Concurrence and Approbation of better Judges; and in his present Circumstances he cannot attempt it, which must exclude this imperfect Representation of the Design. He has here only given the most general Heads; but if he finds the *Plan* any ways approved, he may perhaps communicate shortly a critical Account of the Author's time may be of use in this Scheme, and a full *Analysis* of some of the principal Parts: In the mean-time he humbly submits this to the publick Censure, and shall be glad to hear the Opinions of the Learned concerning it.

*I am, SIR,*

*Your humble*

*Servant.*

## ARTICLE XIII.

### *The Conclusion of Dr. Sykes's Connection of Natural and Revealed Religion.*

THERE are yet two Chapters of Dr. *Sykes's* Book of which no Epitome has been given. The former contains an *Inquiry into the* moral *Principles of the Heathen World, before the Time of our Saviour*; The latter is employed in proving, *That the Gentiles did not derive their* moral Knowledge *from Revelation.* I shall here exhibit a brief Summary of them.

Our Author has shewn, in the foregoing Part of his Work, "That Truth is the Rule and Law of "Action to reasonable Agents: And it follows, "that if any reasonable Creature makes that the

"Measure of his Actions, he must be acceptable to "the Governor of the Universe. No Doubt is "made concerning such as have the Benefit of Re-"velation: They can know their Duties. But "Revelation has extended but to a small Part of "Mankind: And there was a Time, when only "*one* Nation could boast of having the *Oracles of* "*God committed to them.* What was the Case at "that Time of all the rest of Mankind? Were "they able to discover their Duties? What Light "had they to find them out? Or were they unca-"pable of knowing their Duties, for want of suf-"ficient Light to direct them?

This being an Inquiry into a Matter of Fact, it will be necessary, the Doctor says, to consider what the *Heathens* knew concerning *God* and his *At-tributes*, what they maintained concerning *social Relations*, and the *Duties* thence arising; what they held concerning a *future State*, and the *Punishments* and *Rewards* of that. "And if it appears that "they had right and just Notions concerning their "*Duties*, and had right Principles sufficient to lead "them into right Action, it will follow, that the "Light of Reason is not that *uncertain, weak*, "*insufficient, inconsistent* Thing, that is by some "pretended; nor ought it to be treated as some-"thing *carnal* and *dim*." And we shall be able like-wise to determine a Point canvassed by some, "*Whether the Duties of Morality were carried by* "*our* Saviour *to much higher Degrees of Purity and* "*Perfection than they were in fact by the* Heathen, "*by the mere Dint of* Natural Reason.

The great Principle of all Morality, which can never be too closely adhered to, and which ought never to be receded from, the Doctor says, is this; that *Truth* is the great Law of Action, and the Principle of all Virtue, and that nothing so much argues a Meanness of Spirit, and abject Mind, as

not

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not to be able or willing to follow Truth. Now this Principle he ſhews to have been cultivated by the *Perſians*, and to have been ſtrongly inculcated in the Education of their Children; as he evinces by ſeveral Teſtimonies. *Plato* had alſo the ſame Opinion of Truth, and expreſſed himſelf in much the ſame Terms concerning it, as our Author has done.

Having ſeen how far Natural Reaſon advanced in diſcovering the true Law of Action, our Author next inquires how thoſe who had only the Light of Nature purſued *Truth*, and what they found out about the Deity. And he proves, that they had a Knowledge of the Exiſtence of juſt ſuch a Divine Being as we profeſs to believe in; to whom they thought themſelves obliged to offer Homage, Prayer, and Praiſes. "This being the Foundation of "*Natural Religion*, if *Reaſon* not only *can* prove "this, but *did in fact* diſcover this; one may eaſily "conceive, that the immediate and direct *Conſe-* "*quences* of ſuch a Principle were diſcoverable "likewiſe by Reaſon." Accordingly the Doctor makes it appear, by ſeveral Paſſages out of their beſt Writers, that the *Pagans* were well acquainted with that great Foundation of Morality, the *Unity* of God, as alſo with his Properties of *Unoriginati-* *on*, *Self-exiſtence*, *Eternity*, *Intelligence*, *Benevo-* *lence*, *Placableneſs*, and *Sovereignty*. Such Sentiments concerning the Gods, as our Author aſcribes to them, muſt neceſſarily lead the *Gentiles* to pay them a proper Worſhip in *Prayer*, and *Praiſe*, in *Thankfulneſs*, and *Submiſſion* to their Will: And by divers Examples he manifeſts them to have produced this Effect.

But after all this it will be ſaid, that the *Heathens* were far from being conſiſtent in their Apprehenſions of theſe Things. At the ſame Time as they believed a Providence, they had very wrong Noti-

ons of the Manner of it; and the Doctor inſtances ſome of their greateſt Sages ſpeaking of God as an *envious* Being. But he thinks the Expreſſions uſed by thoſe Perſons, may be accounted for, if ſome Candour be admitted, and a poſſible Conſtruction be allowed: And accordingly he has undertaken the Office of their Apologiſt, and has ſo qualified their Doctrine as to this Point, that what had the foul Aſpect of Blaſphemy as it dropt from their Pens, may now be looked upon with very little (if any) Diſguſt. Not that he deſigns, as he tells us, to vindicate all the Notions of the Heathens concerning the Diſpenſations of Providence. His Purpoſe is only to inquire what Light they had, and what uſe in Fact they made of it, in order to ſhew the true Uſe of Revelation.

In the next place our Author proceeds to conſider what Ideas the Heathens had of the *Immortality of the Soul*. For it is certain, he ſays, that a Notion of God as a Governour of all Things, and the Notion of our Souls as immortal, and accountable for whatever we do, are the two grand Principles of all Religion. Now, as he adds, "if the light of Na-"ture be ſufficient to diſcover both theſe, and we "find in *Fact* that the Heathen World had thoſe "Notions, and were fully perſuaded of them; the "Conſequence is, that Revelation is not abſolutely "neceſſary to *eſtabliſh Religion*, but that its true Uſe "is, that which he has aſſigned, *viz.* The furniſh-"ing *Motives* and *Reaſons* for the Practice of "what is right, more and different from what na-"tural Reaſon without this help can ſuggeſt."

It may, he ſays, be granted, in ſome Senſe, that the *Greeks* derived their Notions of their *Gods*, and of the State of departed Souls, from the *Egyptians*, as the *Latins* had them from the *Greeks*. But when "Nations that were neither *Greeks* nor *Egyptians*, "nor converſant with any of them, believed the "Immor-

" Immortality of the Soul equally with them, this " could not arise from any Communication from " them; and it plainly might arise from the Light " of Reason rightly used.

After this general Observation he proceeds to see how the Fact stood; and to examine the Account Mr. *Toland* has given of it, in Pages 28, and 29, of his Letters to *Serena*. He endeavours to shew, that this Doctrine obtained in the World, long before *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, or *Pherecydes Syrus* lived, to whom some have been fond of ascribing the Origin of it. *Toland* will have *Pherecydes* to be the first who committed any thing to writing, of the *Soul's Immortality*; but Dr. *Sykes* points out many gross Mistakes in what that vain Infidel has publish'd about this matter. He then considers what *Cicero* has said upon it. This incomparable Person indeed seems to countenance *Toland*'s Assertion; for he thus expresses himself, " *Pherecydes Syrus* first taught the Souls of Men to be *Sempiternos, immortal, &c.*" But our Author asks, did not others, long before *Pherecydes*, or *Pythagoras*, maintain the *Immortality* of the Soul, *i. e.* That it did not die with the Body; yes, (he adds) *Tully* himself acknowledges it as *taught by all Mankind.** The business therefore, he says, is to settle the meaning of the Terms used on this Occasion by *Herodotus*, and *Pherecydes*, or *Thales*, or *Pythagoras*, who used the same Expression; and which *Tully* translates *animos sempiternos*. His Discussion of this point takes up near a dozen Pages.

He proceeds in the next place to consider, whether the Christian Revelation has discovered any *new D.* (-)

* Our Author's Reasoning here may be very just; but it looks as if he wanted to evade *Tully*'s acknowledging this Doctrine to be universally taught, is no direct Proof, that *Pherecydes* was not the first Teacher of it, by Word or Writing. To make the argument good, something must be understood, which is not here expressed.

*trine of Morality*, which *Reason* does not dictate. *Meric Casaubon*'s Opinion, as he shews, was on the Negative side of the Question; and our Author himself does not disagree with him. He asserts that "whatever *right Reason* dictates to be *true*, is the "Rule of Action; nor can any Proposition of Re-"velation be admitted, which to an Inquirer ap-"pears to be *Unreasonable*."†

Such as maintain, that Christianity has made the Law of Nature *more perfect* than Reason itself could discover, produce several Christian Tenets in order to prove their Point. Some, as our Author notes, are of the *prohibitory* Kind, others of the active Sort. Divers of these he particularizes. *Concubinage*, *Divorce*, *Bigamy* are forbidden; and some things are required in the following Texts, *Matt.* v. 39-42-44. 1 *John* iii. 16. *John* xiii. 14. *Matt.* v. 29, 30. *Matt.* v. 22. Which, with the Precepts of *denying ourselves*, *mortifying our Members* which are upon the Earth, *loving Christ more than Father and Mother*, are, the Doctor judges, the *harshest*, and bid the fairest of any in the Gospel to be Unnatural, and indeed are urged as such. Before he proceeds any further, he applies himself to remove this Objection. In order to this he notes:

It is but fair, that those who suppose these to be *Objections against Christianity*, should not insist on them in an *unreasonable* Sense, if they are capable of a reasonable one. 'Tis maintained they come from *God*; they therefore ought to be allowed to have a reasonable Sense put on them, as they come from the Fountain of all Reason, if they are capable of any such Sense. Here therefore the Rules of *Critique* are to be applied, as to the Books of any other moral Writer, whose Sense is to be discovered. One general Rule of Interpretation must be allowed; and

† This may be true; and yet it may be possible, that *Revelation* has discovered Doctrines, which *Reason* does not dictate

that

that is, that the Books of the *New Teſtament* being *moral*, and not *philoſophical*, the Directions are all to be conſtrued as *Moral Propoſitions* are: The Non-Obſervance of which Caution is the alone Foundation of their being deemed abſurd; *e. g.*

When it is ſaid, *love your Enemies*, *reſiſt not Evil*, and the like, "It is abſurd to interpret the "Words ſo as if the *ſame thing* were enjoin'd, in the "ſame *Degree* and *Manner* to Enemies as to *Friends*, "*Parents*, or *Children*. State the Ideas therefore of "*Love* and *Enemies*, and the ſeeming Abſurdity "of the Propoſition will diſappear." The ſame may be ſaid of all ſimilar Inſtances.

But it may be replied, that if our Saviour had intended theſe Prohibitions and Precepts in the ſtricteſt Senſe imaginable, he could not have expreſſed himſelf in any Terms that were properer to convey his Meaning. "How then muſt it appear, that "he did not *deſign* in this and all like Caſes, that "his Words ſhould be taken Philoſophically and "ſtrictly?——Why may not he abridge Men's natural Liberties, juſt as the Laws of political Societies always do, commanding Men to do, or reſtraining Men from, what they are not obliged or "may have a Right to by the Law of Nature?" The Sum of our Author's Anſwer to this is,

I. That Jeſus never directly intimated any Deſign to vary from the Law of Nature: Nay, by his Preaching up *Repentance*, he called Men back to *that* Law, as what they had violated by Sin.

II. Had he intended theſe Things in the Senſe the Objector ſuppoſes, the Words in which he cloathed them, would not have been ſuch general ones as he uſed, and which common Senſe would interpret otherwiſe; but he would have explained himſelf in ſuch a Manner as would have prevented all miſtakes about his Meaning. "Whereas we are now left to our own "Judgment about them, and it would be wrong

" not to interpret them by that Law to which he re-
" called us, when he preached up *Repentance*."

III. If a Paſſage of Revelation, interpreted with Limitations, appears reaſonable, but if taken literally appears to be abſurd, and if all the reſt of the ſame Revelation appear to be rational, it is more *probable* at leaſt that ſuch a Paſſage ought to be conſtrued ſoberly: But if it be evident, that ſuch Paſſage comes from God, and no Intimation is any where given, that what is right in itſelf ſhould ever be receded from, it follows, that we muſt interpret ſuch Paſſage according to Reaſon.

IV. That Chriſt did not intend his Injunctions in the Senſe contended for by the Adverſary, is plain, becauſe he *allows* in many Inſtances the direct contrary to what ſuch Injunctions are ſuppoſed to contain; nay, he himſelf *practiſed*, and *declared* his Deſign to practiſe the contrary to them: *E.g.* he has bid us to *love our Enemies*: But this Command, taken in the Objector's Senſe, is contrary to Chriſt's own avowed Deſign, who ſeverely *puniſhed* the *Jews*, and has threatned to *puniſh* his Enemies at the Day of Judgment.

V. If we take the Expreſſions of the Goſpel in a reaſonable Senſe only, it will appear, that our Saviour did not deſign to *extend* and *exalt* the moral Principles above the common Standard of Benevolence and Charity; but only to fix them in ſuch a Manner as Truth and Juſtice do require.

VI. Some of theſe Precepts which are pretended to be exalted to a Degree unknown to natural Reaſon, are expreſly commanded to be after the Example of God. Now, as God will *puniſh* his Enemies, and would not act as a juſt Governour of the Univerſe, were he to treat good and bad Men *equally*; ſo may Men, in Virtue of this very Principle, act.

This

This Foundation being laid, our Author goes on to fix the Meaning of each Rule of the Gospel: Whereby he makes it appear, "That Reason did "discover to the heathen World every one of those "Duties, which some imagine to be the Peculiars "of Christianity." He shews this to be the Case with Respect to the Prohibition of Fornication, resisting Evil, loving our Enemies, and returning Good for Injury. These Things he proves to have been taught among the Heathens. To his Standard he brings divers other Passages of Scripture; and interpreted according to the Considerations he has offered, they seem to aim at or enjoin no greater Degrees of Benevolence, Humility, and Virtue, than what were recommended by the Pagan Moralists.

From the Observations that he has made relating to this Matter, he has drawn seven Inferences, which bring up the Rear of this Chapter. I shall cite the last of these, because it has a Connexion with the following Chapter, which is the Close of the Work.

"Since the Heathens did *in fact* know all those "moral Truths, it follows, that either they must "discover them by the Force of *Reason*, or they "must come to the Knowledge of them from such "as had the Benefit of Revelation in times of old; "or they must have them by *Tradition* from An"cestors, who had them from God." The Consideration of the two last Methods, which, the Doctor says, have been, and usually are prefled, by many learned Writers, is that which he finally proceeds to, in the XVth Chapter; wherein he shews, That the *Gentiles* had not their *moral Knowledge* from Revelation.

The only Question, as he says at the Beginning of this Chapter, is, How they came by it? To which he thinks it may be answered very truly, "That "God gave them Faculties, which if they would

"apply

"apply as they ought, they might as eaſily diſcover "all thoſe important Truths which would lead them "to Happineſs as they could the Truths of Geo-"metry, or any other uſeful Knowledge."

Others, in order to defend Revelation againſt Infidelity, have framed different Syſtems. Some have told us, "that the *Gentile* World, before Chriſt "came, had at ſundry times, and in divers man-"ners, ſome Beams of Divine Light ſent them "from above, to help the *Dimneſs* of the Light of "Nature." To That, "they were never entirely de-"ſtitute of *ſupernatural Notices*, never left to the "*mere* Light of *Nature*, either for forming a "Knowledge of God and Religion, or for directing "their Life and Manners." When the Inquiry is made—By what Channels of Conveyance theſe *ſupernatural Notices* were brought into the heathen World? The Anſwer is—"That the Pagans "have, ſince our Saviour's Time, improved their "Theology and Morality, more or leſs, by read-"ing the Scriptures; That *before* thoſe Times "they acquired their Knowledge by reading the "*Verſion* of the *Hebrew* Scriptures in *Greek*; or elſe "they got it by converſing with *Jews* diſperſed in "to diſtant Quarters; or elſe by converſing with "*Egyptians*, *Perſians*, *Phœnicians*, *Chaldeans*, &c. "who had been inſtructed by *Jews*; or elſe by "Tradition from *Abraham*, who was the Father of "the *Aſſyrians*; or laſtly, by Tradition from *Noah*, "or *Adam*, who received immediately from God "the Doctrines of the one true God, of Providence, "of the Immortality of the Soul, and a future State "of Rewards and Puniſhments, of the Creation "of the World, and of the Corruption of human "Nature." Beſides theſe Doctrines, there have been common Rites and Cuſtoms, as Sacrifices, the Sabbath, and Tithes, very probably derived from the ſame Source.

Here

Here are two Schemes, both of which appear to our Author entirely groundless; and his Business, in the Sequel of this concluding Chapter, is to prove them so. The Ruin of these is the Establishment of his System. For, says he, "If it cannot be shewn, that "the heathen World had their Knowledge of these "Things by either of these Ways, the true Infe-"rence is, that as God has given to Man Abilities "to judge and think, and compare things together, "and to observe their mutual Relations, hence did "they in fact discover their Notions of God, and "of their Souls, and of such moral Practice as "would lead them to Happiness. Thinking Men "discovered these important Notions, and they "taught them to others; and these perceiving "their Agreeableness and Truth, received and "propagated what was so natural; *and thus* in all "Nations have the Notions of God and Provi-"dence, and a future State, and moral Good and "Evil, been found out and spread." And why in deed, he adds, should Men have recourse to Schemes, which cannot be proved to have any Foundation, and which are impossible to be proved for want of ancient History to inform us; when all may be fully accounted for by the natural Powers which God has given us?

By evincing this last Proposition, he entirely subverts the foregoing Hypotheses. The first of them supposes the *Gentile* World to have derived the Notions we are speaking of, by Tradition from *Adam* or *Noah*, who had them immediately from God. Now, the Doctor says, it does not appear, that either *Adam* or *Noah* received from God any thing concerning the Immortality of the Soul, or a future State of Rewards and Punishments. There is not any Passage of Scripture from whence it can be gathered that they did. The Conclusion from which ought to be, that they did not; and consequently what-

ever

ever is built upon the Suppoſition of ſuch Revelation, is mere groundleſs Imagination.

The Scheme which ſuppoſes the Heathens had their Morality from the *Jews*, or from the *ſacred Writings*, directly or indirectly, is, the Doctor ſays, by much the moſt generally received, and ſupported by very great Authority. But this great Authority itſelf, when he takes it in hand, dwindles preſently into nothing. For he ſays, "Were this "Cauſe to be judged by mere Aſſertions, without "examining the Grounds upon which the Charge "is built; if one were to determine the Caſe upon "the *mere Authority* of thoſe that aver it, it might "paſs for true. But if one demands particular In"ſtances, and examines them carefully; if one re"quires more than mere Aſſertions, we ſhall find "nothing but *Suppoſitions*, *mere Poſſibilities*, no"thing that will amount to ſo much as a *Probability*, "much leſs to *ſatisfactory Evidence*.

The Patrons of this Scheme talk in different Stiles: Some, the Doctor tells us, *in general* only; others make no Scruple to deſcend to *Particulars*. Theſe Particulars he examines with a very critical Eye; and as he has diſcovered their Vanity, he has taken a good deal of Pains in expoſing it.

When he has finiſhed his Diſcuſſion of it, he takes notice of the Injury that Revelation has ſuffered, in two Inſtances, by this Hypotheſis; tho'. on the otherhand, it has been often inſiſted on as a Means to inhance the Advantages of it, and to put ſome Stop to Infidelity. *Firſt*, He ſays, "When [illegible] a Scheme of ſuch Reaſoning "laid before a Set of Men, who openly call "for *Evidence* for Revelation, what Effect can "one expect to flow from hence, but a Confir"mation of them in their *Infidelity*.

*Secondly*,

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*Secondly*, "The Notion that the Fathers had, "that the *Heathens stole* their Notions from *Moses* "and the *Prophets*, was one great Means of *cor-"rupting* the true Christian Religion. They first "imagined, that the Heathen Philosophers and "Poets borrowed Notions from the Scriptures. "And then truly they put off the heathen Notions "of those Philosophers and Poets as true Christian "Principles. Thus was *Platonism* introduced "as early as *Justin Martyr*'s Days, and the "*Logos* of *Plato* and *Orpheus* was represented as "the true *Logos* of St. *John*. And hence may "a good Account be given of the Corruptions of "Opinions, and a Change of Language and No-"tions that began to get Ground in the *second* "Century; and has been attended with wonderful, "but very natural Consequences in Christianity."

## ARTICLE XIV.

*A new and compendious System of* OPTICKS, *in three Parts, viz.* Part I. *Catoptrics, or the Doctrine of Vision by Rays reflected from* Mirrours, *or polished Surfaces.* Part II. *Dioptrics, or the Theory of Vision by Rays refracted through* Lenses, *or transparent Substances.* Part III. *A practical Description of a great Number of the most useful and optical* Instruments *and* Machines, *and their Construction shewn from the Theory, viz. the* EYE, CAMERA OBSCURA, Single *and* Double MICROSCOPES, Refracting *and* Reflecting TELESCOPES, PERSPECTIVE GLASSES, *the* MAGIC LANTHORN, *&c. The Manner of adapting* MICROMETERS *and* TELESCOPES *of the reflecting Sort. The whole explained, exemplified, and illustrated by a great Variety of Copper-plate Figures, as big as the Life. By* BENJAMIN MARTIN. London: *Printed for* James Hodges, *at the* Looking-Glass *on* London-Bridge. MDCCXL. *Octavo. Pages* 295, *besides* 34 *Copper plates, Preface, &c.*

OUR Author entertains us in his Preface with an Encomium on his Subject. He says, "as "the *Eye* among the Organs of the Body, so *Op-* "*tics* among the Sciences, is the most delicate, cu- "rious, and useful; as the Parts and Structure of "the *Eye* surpass that of most other organical "Parts, in point of Mechanism and wonderous "Contrivance, so the Principles and Theorems of

"*Optics*

" *Optics* are of a peculiar Nature, wonderful in " their harmonious Origin, and expreſs a whole " Science in a Line. *Laſtly*, As the *Eye* is that " Organ by which we have all our Ideas of the " Magnitude, Order, Number, Diſpoſition, Co- " lours, *&c.* of Things about us, ſo *Optics* is that " Science, which alone accounts for the *Reaſon* and " *Manner* of ſuch Senſations: And a Man not " verſed in the *Viſual Science*, can no more proper- " ly be ſaid to *ſee things rationally*, than a Qua- " druped; and has little better Notions of appa- " rent Magnitudes and Diſtances of Things, than " a blind Man has of Colours.—— But this is not " all; it is alſo the *Ground-work*, or *fundamental* " *Science* to many others, as *Perſpective-painting*, " *Architecture*, *Aſtronomy*, *Dialling*, *Surveying*, " *&c.* —— Again, if we regard Curioſity, what " Science can compare with *Optics* in the whole " *Encyclopædia?* What Gratifications of Senſe ſo " exquiſite as that of Sight? By *Optics* the Heavens " have been revealed to us; the Spots and *Fæculæ* " on the Face of the *Sun*, the Horns and waining " Phaſes of *Venus*, the Mountains and Vales in the " *Moon*, the Satellites and Belts of *Jupiter*, and " *Saturn* with his wondrous Ring; beſides innumer- " able Stars not otherwiſe to be ſeen but by the Te- " leſcope! What Pleaſure, yea, how uſeful is it, " to have Objects thirty or forty Miles off, brought " within the Diſtance of one Mile, or half a Mile? " Yet this the Teleſcope effects. Again, what " Diſcoveries have been made in the World of " Miniature, where Objects ſo very ſmall, as other- " wiſe muſt ever have been unſeen and unknown " by us, are made conſpicuous and rendered viſible " in their minuter Parts? Who could ever have " thought of the *Animalculæ* in Water, in *Semine*, " *&c.* The Eels in Vinegar and Water; the Pores " and Air-veſſels in Wood; the pearly Drops on

" Leaves

" Leaves of various Plants; the vesicular Sub-
" stance of Beans, Peafe, and all kind of Pulfe;
" the curious Forms, the particular Structure of
" Parts, and the rich Colours that adorn moft of
" the invifible Tribes of Animals! Yet all this, and
" ten thoufand times more, is performable by the
" *Microfcope*; an Inftrument which no reafonable
" Man fhould want, inafmuch as it ferves him in-
" ftead of *Microfcopic Eyes*. As to the Benefit
" thofe receive from this Science, whofe Eyes re-
" quire the Aid of Spectacles, it is fo great and fo
" general, that it would be mere Impertinence to
" pretend to expatiate upon it; and many other in-
" valuable Bleffings relult from this Art of improv-
" ing Sight, which the Experience of Mankind
" has long fince evinced, we cannot be without,
" and not be miferable.

Here I have exhibited our Author in the Capacity of an Orator. We are now to be concerned with him as the Writer of this Treatife, and to be informed, both of the Motives which prompted him to undertake it, and what he has done therein. What fet him about the Work was, according to his own Story, a Regard for thofe, who, convinced of the exceeding Ufefulnefs of this Science, would very willingly ftudy it, if they had a proper Book for inftructing them in the Principles thereof.

Mr. *Molyneaux*'s is too large, and too much perplexed with *algebraical* Solutions, and is therefore only fit for Scholars. As for Dr. *Gregory*'s Elements, Mr. *Martin* fays, the geometrical Demonftrations of every Propofition deter the Reader; and Mr. *Brown*'s Supplement thereto, involves him in a Labyrinth of analytical Inveftigations and Solutions, with little Order and Perfpicuity, and great Want of Schemes. And Dr. *Smith*'s *Syftem of Optics* is too expenfive, and fo voluminous, that it furpaffes both their Time and Underftandings. Now to obviate

viate these Objections, and remove the Difficulties that have hitherto discouraged Persons from the Study of so excellent a Science, our Author sets about this new and compendious System.

In the Construction thereof, he judged it necessary, as he tells us, to dispatch the Theory in as short, yet plain a Manner as possible; this, in *Catoptrics*, he has done from the admirable universal Theorem invented by the late Mr. *Humphry Ditton*; and in *Dioptrics* he was supplied with that wonderful Theorem, which expresses the whole Science in half a Line, and is one of the noble Inventions of Dr. *Halley*. These two general Theorems he has explained, and branched out into all the particular Cases that can arise from different Rays, Mirrours, and Lenses, Distances, and Positions of Objects; and after that, lest any should not understand the Theory in Species, he has carefully explained, or rather expressed, each Theorem (in *Catoptrics* and *Dioptrics*) in *Words at length*, and so reduced them to Rules, by which any Case may be solved truly, by those who know nothing of *Algebra* or *Geometry*. He has also given Examples (to every Case that required it) in *Numbers*, and illustrated them by Schemes and Figures of *Rays*, *Mirrours*, and *Lenses*, as large as the Life.

After the Theory, he has given, in the third Part, an Account of all the useful optical Instruments and Machines, whose Nature and Construction he has fully explained from the Theory; and exemplified their Uses by divers and familiar Examples. In short, he tells us, whatever he judged curious, new, and worth the Reader's notice, he has inserted all along; but studiously avoided all nugatory Remarks, and the *Minutiæ* of the Art, on one hand; and on the other, all ostentatious Subtilties, and useless Diquisitions, that may puzzle, but not profit the Reader: His sole Design being to render



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the Study of this Science as easy, as delightful, and as general, as possible.

For the more particular Satisfaction of the Reader, I will here adjoin a Summary of the Contents of this Treatise, extracted from the Table of them drawn up by the Author.

In the first Part we have the Definitions of the technical Terms belonging to the Science of Optics. We have then the Principles of Catoptrics and Dioptrics: This Theory applied, for determining the mutual Proportion of the Object and its Image: The same Theory explained and illustrated by familiar Rules and Examples. We have, lastly, the Rules for determining the Distance of an Object, that shall bear any assigned Proportion to its Image.

In the second Part we have the Theory of Dioptrics: The said Theory applied for determining the mutual Proportion of the Object and Image. We have after this the Theorems relating to Globes and Hemispheres, reduced to practical Rules and Examples. These are followed by Rules for finding the Focus of a double-convex Lens, and of a plano-convex Lens; for finding the virtual Focus of double-concave Lenses; for finding the Focus of a plano-concave Lens, and of a menifcus Lens: The Rules for determining the Distance of an Object, that shall bear any assigned Proportion to its Image, formed by a convex Lens, by a double-concave, plano-concave, and a menifcus Lens.

The third Part specifies the Construction and Uses of Dioptric Instruments and Machines. It begins with the Eye, describing its Formation, and the Modus of Vision; afterwards considers the Position of the Object in the Eye, accounts for its erect Appearance, notwithstanding the Inversion of its Image on the Retina, and settles the Measure of the



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the apparent Magnitude of Objects. The Faults and Defects of Vision are afterwards pointed out; and it is shewn how they are remedied by convex and concave Lenses in Spectacles. In the Sequel of this Part Mr. *Martin* has distinctly treated of the Camera Obscura; of Microscopes in general; of single Microscopes made with a small Lens, Spherule, or Mirror; of compound Microscopes, consisting of two or more Lenses, and their Power of magnifying; of the apparent Position of the Objects, and the visible Area, in a Microscope of convex Eye-glasses; of the Nature and Effects of a compound Microscope, with a double concave Eye-glass; of Cata-dioptric or reflecting Microscopes; of Telescopes in general, and of the common dioptric Telescope in particular; of *Galileo*'s Telescope, or Prospective-glass; of the various Uses of the dioptric Telescope, *&c.* of the Colours of the Sun's Light, and the different Refrangibility and Reflexibility thereof, and the Imperfection of dioptric Telescopes arising from thence; of the Cata-dioptric or reflecting Telescope, its Theory, Construction, and Use; of Micrometers, and the Method of adapting them to Microscopes and Telescopes; of an optical Instrument for measuring the Angle of Vision, or estimating the apparent Magnitude of Bodies; also for viewing perspective Prints, Pictures, *&c.* of the Magic-lanthern, and Opera-glasses.

There are in this last Part of the Book two or three Things in the descriptive Way, which must afford some Entertainment to those Readers, who have any the least Tincture of the Character of a Virtuoso. For instance,

In the fourth Chapter we have an Account of that very curious and useful Instrument, the *Camera Obscura*. This is, Mr. *Martin* says, tho' a simple, yet a very noble Contrivance, inasmuch as it



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moſt clearly and naturally explains the Nature and Manner of Viſion in the Eye, and, at the ſame time, entertains the Spectator with a moſt exquiſite Picture of the Objects without, in their natural Proportions, Colours, and Motions, more vivid and beautiful than the Life itſelf; filling the Beholder with Delight and Surpriſe ——— He adds,

"This is Nature's *Art of Painting*, and it is "with eaſe obſerved, how infinitely ſuperior this is "to the fineſt Performance of the *Pencil*. For, "(1.) You have the *Perſpective in Perfection*; "that is, the juſt Diminution of Objects proportionate to the Diſtances, or the Proportion of "the Images to the reſpective apparent Magnitudes. "(2.) The *Colouring* is here perfectly *juſt and natural*; and not only that, but very much heighten'd "and rendered more beautiful; thus *green* Objects "appear more *intenſely green* in the Picture; *yellow*, *red*, *blue*, or *white* Flowers, appear incompa-"rably more beautifully ſo in the Picture. (3.) The "*Lights* and *Shadows* are not only perfectly juſt, "but alſo greatly heightned, and make the Images "appear extremely prominent and natural. (4.) "The *Motions* are exactly expreſſed in the Picture, "the Leaves *quiver*, the Boughs *wave*, the Birds "*fly*, the People *walk*, the Cart is *drawn*, the "Smoke *aſcends*, the Clouds *ſoar*, the Ships *ſail*, "*&c.* and all as natural as the Life, and much "quicker, as it is performed in a leſſer Scene." Our Author goes on,

"Theſe are the inimitable Perfections of a Pic-"ture drawn by Nature's Hand; in compariſon of "which, how *mean*, how *coarſe*, how *imperfect*, "yea, what ſorry Daubings is the fineſt artificial "Painting! Select the peculiar Excellencies of the "principal Artiſts, the *juſt Proportions* of *Raphael*, "the *natural Tints* of *Titian*, the *pure Style* of *Correggio*, the *Decorum* of *Tibaldi*, the *Terrour* of

"*Michael*

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" *Michael Angelo*, the *Air* of *Guido*, the *Designing* " of the *Romans*, the *Shadowing* of the *Venetians*, " and the *Colouring* of the *Lombards*; all united " would not be able to effect so finished a Piece, in any " Branch of their Art, as Nature can exhibit with " a *single Lens* only. The *Camera Obscura* is, at " the same time, the Painter's *Aid* and *Reproach*, " from hence he receives the best Instructions; " from hence he learns his Imperfections; here he " views what he should do, and knows it is what " he cannot do." Our Author is very rhetorical in these Passages; but his *Antitheſis* at the close is, I presume, not quite so just as he imagines. In moral Cases, a Man may be obliged to what he cannot perform; but in Matters of Art no Man *should* do what is impossible to be done. However, the *Camera Obscura*, when it is really a *Camera Obscura*, and not a trifling Box (such as now has usurp'd that Name) deserves all the Praises which Mr. *Martin* has bestowed on it.

There is one Circumstance attending the Representation of Objects in the *Camera*, which may be deemed an Imperfection, and that is the *inverted Position of the Images*. But this our Author has set down several Methods of remedying. He has likewise given us some Rules that are to be observed in the Mechanism and Using of the *Camera*, which I will here subjoin.

" In making a dark Chamber, the Glass should not " have too small, nor yet too large a focal Distance. " For if it be too short, the Images will be very " small, and not distinct and discernable, and will " be so near the Window, that there will not be " Room for a Person to stand and view it. The " Lens should have its *Focus* at *three Foot Distance* " at least.

" On the other hand, the *focal Distance* of the " Lens should not be *too large*; for if it be larger " than

" than the Diſtance of the oppoſite Wall, there " will be nothing to receive the Picture upon; and " if the Room be very large, yet will the Picture " be faint, and the Image leſs pleaſing on a double " account; for (1.) the focal Diſtance being very " great, the Images will be proportionably large, " and therefore more faint and obſcure; (2.) the " larger focal Diſtance, the larger Diameter of the " Lens, or the Hole in the *Scioptric Ball*, which " therefore will admit too much Light, and ſo " deaden the Repreſentation; and if the Hole be " made ſmaller, there will not enter Light enough " to make the Images viſible at ſo great a Diſtance. " The Focus then ſhould not be at a leſs Diſtance " than three Feet, nor at a greater than 15 or 20 " at fartheſt; and thoſe from 6 to 12 are by much " the beſt of any. If the focal Diſtance of a Lens " be too ſhort, the Images may be magnified to al- " moſt any Degree, by viewing them through a " large convex Lens: by this means the want of " Lenſes of diſtant Foci, which are very ſcarce " and dear, may be ſupplied; and thus a Lens of " 5 Feet may be made to anſwer the End of one " of 15.

" A dark Chamber ought never to be attempt- " ed *but when the Sun ſhines*; for it is neceſſary " the Objects, which are to be taken in, ſhould " be ſtrongly illuminated by the Sun-beams. —— " Whence it follows, that a *South Window* is never " to be uſed for this Purpoſe; becauſe the Sun can " never enlighten the North-ſide of the Object, " which alone can be taken in by a South Win- " dow. Beſides, the Sun in this Caſe would be apt " to ſhine on the Glaſs, which would make the " Picture appear with a falſe or confuſed Luſtre.

" An *Eaſt Window* will do very well in the " *Afternoon*, as a *Weſtern* will for the *Morning*; " but none is ſo good, or will make ſo glorious a

" Picture,

" Picture, as a *North Window* about *Noon*; for " then the Sun being in his Meridian Height, and " ſhining with the greateſt Strength and Splendor " poſſible, the Picture made in ſuch a Caſe will " far exceed all others in *Vivacity*, *Beauty*, and " *Luſtre*.

" This noble Experiment is not only admirably " pleaſing and delightful in itſelf, but alſo very " uſeful for many Purpoſes of Buſineſs, principally " with reſpect to *Perſpective*, *Painting*, *Deſigning*, " *&c.* For whatſoever is to be *drawn* or *painted*, " if it be firſt expoſed to the *Scioptric Ball*, the " Perſpective thereof will be truly formed, and " the Lights and Shadows for every Poſition and " Action of the Objects, will be repreſented juſt as " they ought to be in the Images of the Picture. " In ſhort, the *Camera Obſcura* is the School in " which every *Deſigner* and *Painter* ought to " learn the firſt Rudiments of his Art. He can " never, without this *dark* Education, turn out a " bright Proficient. No Inſtructions can come up " to thoſe of Nature; her Leſſons are all perfect " Patterns and Enſamples, and every one excells in " painting and drawing ſo much the more, by how " much the truer he copies after them.

" And another great Convenience is, that the " Pictures of Objects may be made of any Size you " pleaſe, either leſs or greater than the Life, if the " Objects be moveable. For if you place the Ob- " ject farther from the Ball than twice the Length " of the Lens, the Images will be leſs than the " Objects; if they are placed at juſt twice the fo- " cal Length of the Lens, the Images will be juſt " as big as the Life; if they are placed nearer, " the Images will be greater than the Life.

" Alſo for immoveable Objects, as thoſe of " Houſes, Gardens, Fields, Trees, *&c.* if you " have different Lenſes, you may form the Pic-



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" ture of so many different Sizes, the shorter Focus " making the lesser Picture, and the larger Focus " the largest.

" But the Use of the *Camera Obscura* did not " rest in *drawing* and *painting*, but the *Optician* " himself is greatly interested therein. By this " grand Experiment he demonstrates evidently " the Principles of his Art. For by admitting the " Sun Beams thro' the Hole of a Window-shutter " into the darken'd Chamber, he can actually shew " the Focus of *parallel Rays* by Reflection from " *concave Mirrours*, and by Refraction through " *convex Lenses* to be just as the Theory defines " them, by holding those Glasses in the said Beams. " Thus also he shews, that the Sun's Rays, after " Reflection from *concave Mirrours*, and after Re- " fraction through *concave Lenses*, are ever made " to diverge agreeable to the Theory of *parallel* " *Rays*.

" Again, by holding a large *convex Lens* in the " Sun's Rays, he can by that means produce *di-* " *verging* and *converging Rays* in any Degree, and " so can prove the Truth of all those Properties of " *convex*, *concave*, and *menisous* Glasses, with re- " spect to these Rays, as the Theory teaches. Al- " so the Ratio or Proportion of the *Sines of the* " *Angles of Incidence* and *Refraction* in Water, " Oil, Glass, *&c.* is easily proved to be as it is " stated. Farther,

" The Reason and Nature of *Telescopes* and *Mi-* " *croscopes* is demonstrated to the Senses hereby; " for if the Glasses of either be taken out of the " Tubes, and fixed at their proper Distances on a " strait Piece of Wood, so that the Sun Beams " fall directly and fully on the Object-glasses, you " will then see the Forms they take in their Course, " through the Glasses fixed at their proper Di- " stances, to be such as the Theory points out; and

" are

are necessary to answer the Purposes of these Instruments.

" But in making Experiments with the Sun Beams in a dark Chamber, since those Rays fall " with great Obliquity, especially in the *Summer-time*, and so are the more inconvenient for Use; the best way is to fix a small plain Mirrour to the under Part of the Frame of the *Steptric Ball*, immediately near the Ball itself, by a Hinge, that by moving up and down it may receive and reflect the Sun Beams in any Direction whatsoever; and as by this Contrivance they may be made *Parallel*, it will be found extremely useful and expedient on many Occasions.

" If the Mirrour be fixed to the Ball itself, then may the Cylinder of Rays be not only cast in any Direction, but also to any Part of the Room, than which nothing can be more useful.

" One great Use of the *Camera Obscura*, is the " easy Method it supplies of *measuring the focal Length of any Lens or Mirrour*, which otherwise is many times very difficult to be determined. " This Matter is extremely easy and certain for " *convex Lenses* and *concave Mirrours*, because " they have a real and very visible Focus; and therefore setting one End of a Rule on the " Lens, the Distance of the Focus is seen on the " Rule in Feet, or Inches, and decimal Parts of " an Inch.

" But with respect to a *convex Mirrour* or *concave Lens*, which have no real Focus, it will be " easy to find the Distance of the virtual Focus " thus: Describe a Circle, suppose of three Inches " Diameter, on a Piece of clean white Paper; hold " this Paper directly behind the concave Lens in " the Rays, and move it to and from the Lens, till " the circular bright Spot of the diverging Rays " exactly fills the Circle on the Paper; then measure

" the

" the Distance of the Paper from the Lens, and
" also the Diameter of so much of the Lens as is
" concave. Then *multiply the Distance of the Paper*
" *by the Diameter of the Concavity, and divide that*
" *Product by the Difference between the Diameter*
" *of the Circle on the Paper and Concavity of the*
" *Lens; the Quotient will be the Distance of the*
" *virtual Focus of the Lens.*

" In the same manner the fair Focus is found
" for a convex Mirrour.

" Another grand Experiment of the dark Cham-
" ber, is *darting to the Earth the Sun's Disk.* This
" is easily done by putting the *Object Glass* of a 10
" or 20 Foot Telescope into the *Window Ball*,
" which is to be stuffed about and filled with
" the Sun's Rays; then holding a Sheet of white
" Paper in the Focus of the Lens, a most exceed-
" ing fair and bright Image of the Sun will be
" found on the Paper of about an Inch Diame-
" ter, on which the Spots on the Sun's Surface will
" be very distinctly seen. This Image is rather too
" bright to be viewed without Offence to the Eyes,
" and therefore should be viewed through a large
" Lens of about 6 or 8 Inches focal Distance,
" which will magnify both the Image and its Spots
" to a very great Advantage.

" The dark Chamber might also be made to
" answer the End of a *Nocturnal aerial Telescope*,
" for if an Object Lens, whose focal Distance is
" 50, 60 or 70 Feet, were fixed in the Ball, it
" would give a large Image of the *Moon*, and a
" small one of *Venus*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturn*; which
" may be so far magnified by one or more small
" Lenses, such as are the Eye glasses, that the
" *Phases* of the one, and the *Satellites*, *Belts*, and
" *Rings* of the other may, in all likelihood, be
" rendered visible and distinct.

" Divers

" Divers *Microscopical Experiments* are also to " be exhibited in the *dark Chamber*, both by *con-* " *vex Lenses* and *concave Mirrours*. Thus if a Tin " or Past-board Tube be fitted into the Hole of " the *Scioptric Ball*, and an Aperture be made on " each Side to slide a Piece of Glass through freely, " and either in or upon this Tube there be put " another, containing two Lenses properly dis- " posed; this may be moved backward or forward, " till such time as it gives clear and very large " Images on a Sheet of Paper, of the small Objects " that are stuck upon the Slip of Glass aforesaid, " which are strongly illuminated by the Sun-beams " passing through the Ball for that Purpose.

" The same thing is to be done with a *concave* " *Mirrour*, thus: Let a Cylinder of Rays fall on " a large concave Mirrour, fixed in a Frame " for that Purpose; then take the Slip of thin " Plate of Glass, and having put any small Objects " thereon, hold it in the incident Rays at a little " more than the focal Distance of the Mirrour; " then will the Images of those small Objects ap- " pear on the opposite Wall, very large and ex- " ceedingly clear and bright, among the reflected " Rays.

In the fifth Chapter of the third Part of this System, where Mr. *Martin* enters upon the Description and Properties of Microscopes, there are some Particulars relating to the magnifying Powers of Glass *Spherules*, and the best manner of forming them, which may very properly come into this Article.

He makes it appear, that *single Glass Lenses* make very good Microscopes, which have these Advantages, that the Objects appear therein most clear, they lie in little Room, may be carried about any where, are to be had for a small Price, and are most easy

to

to be used. Mr. *Martin* has made trial of various Lenses, and finds those whose focal Lengths are $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, and $\frac{1}{10}$ of an Inch, the best for common Use. He adjusts double Lenses. For,

"Since the nearer the Eye can approach to "an Object, the larger it appears, it is plain, "that a *double and equally convex Lens* is far "preferable to a *plano-convex Lens*; because if "the Sphere or Convexity be the same, the focal "Length of the former is but half as long as "that of the latter. And since the double "Convex consists of two Segments of a Sphere, the "more an Object is to be magnified, the greater "must be the Convexity, and therefore the "smaller the Sphere; till at last the *utmost* "*Degree of magnifying* will require that those "*Segments* become *Hemispheres*, and consequently "the *Lens* will be reduced to a perfect *Spherule*, "or very *small Sphere*.

With these small *Spherules*, he tells us, extraordinary Degrees of magnifying may be arrived at. "For, The Focus of *parallel Rays* being but at "$\frac{1}{3}$ the Radius distant from the Spherule; if the "Radius of a Spherule be $\frac{1}{100}$ of an Inch, the Eye "will have distinct Vision of an Object by Means "thereof, at the Distance of a *Radius and half*, "*i. e.* $\frac{1}{60}$ of an Inch, which, as it is but the 400th "Part of 6 Inches, shews that the *Length* of an "Object will be magnified 400 times, the *Surface* "160000 times, and the *Solidity* 64000000 times, by "such a small Sphere.

"If the Radius of a Spherule be but $\frac{1}{200}$ of an "Inch, then will the Eye have distinct Vision of "an Object at the Distance of $\frac{1}{120}$ of an Inch, "which, as it is but the 800th Part of 6 Inches, "shews the *Length* of Objects will appear 800 times "greater, the *Surface* 640000 times, and the Bulk

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"many hundred times greater than to the naked Eye at "6 Inches Distance.

"Again, if the Diameter of a Spherule be $\frac{1}{100}$th "of an Inch, or the Radius $\frac{1}{200}$th, then will the Eye "approach the Object so near as $\frac{1}{200}$th of an Inch, "which is but the 1200th Part of 6 Inches; and "therefore the *Length* of Objects will be magnified "1200 times, the *Surface* 2560000 times, and the So"lidity 3686400000 times by this Spherule; which "is so great a Power of magnifying, as surpasses "all human Understanding and Comprehension."

and yet, Mr. *Martin* tells us, There are Methods of making Spherules as small, and smaller than any above mentioned. He sets down two Ways of doing this: The first is, by breaking a Piece of clear white Glass into very small Particles, which are to be taken up by the Point of a fine Needle, and held in the blue Part of the Flame of a Candle, or rather of a Lamp burning with Spirits of Wine; which, by Means of a Blow-Pipe, will immediately melt the glass Particles on the Point of the Needle, and being melted, they will naturally run into a roundish Form, and, by a proper Motion of the Needle, which a little Practice will teach, they may be brought to a true spherical Form. And as there are more or less Particles on the Needle, the Globule will be greater or smaller.

The other Way is by melting a Piece of fine glass in a small Crucible, or Bowl of a Tobacco-Pipe, and then by dipping therein the End of a Wire, you may draw out very fine and long Threads of Glass, which, when cold, are to be broken into proper Lengths; and one End of such a Thread put into the Flame of a Candle, will immediately melt, and run into a globular Form, which, when you think it big enough, is to be taken out and broke off the Thread.

"In

" In either of these Ways, great Care must be " had not to hold them too long in the Flame " after they are melted, lest they be burnt, and " thereby rendered opake, and unfit for Use. The " few that are good, among the many made, are " to be well cleansed, and let into a very small " Hole in a Plate of Brass, in order for Use."

In using these *Spherule Microscopes*, the Objects are to be placed in one Focus, and the Eye in the other; " and since the Focus is so exceeding near " the Glass, it is impossible to view any but pel- " lucid Bodies; for if any opake Object were to be " applied, the Eye being as it were just on the " Spherule, would entirely prevent any Light fall- " ing on it, and it would be too obscure to be " viewed."

It was with this Sort of Microscopes, Mr. *Martin* says, that the famous *Leuwenhoek* made such wonderful Discoveries: and it must be with these, if with any, that the *Corpuscles* or *Atoms*, of which Bodies consist, are to be discovered.

The foregoing Computations of the magnifying Powers of *Spherules*, is founded upon this Princi- ple, which accounts for the magnifying Power of Convex Lenses generally, viz. That " the *ap- parent Magnitude* of Objects is measured by the " Angle which they are seen under by the Eye; " and that those Angles are reciprocally as the Di- " stances from the Eye. If therefore at the Di- " stance of six Inches, we can but just discern an " Object, and then interposing a Lens, or other " Body, we can come to view that very Object at " a nearer Distance, the Object will appear to be " as much larger through the Lens, than before to " the naked Eye, as its Distance from the Lens is " less than its Distance from the Eye."

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE XV.

*The Credibility of the Gospel History, &c.* By Mr. NATHANIEL LARDNER. *The Second Part of* Vol. II. Octavo. *Pages* 379. *besides Appendages.*

AN Account has been given of this Work in general, and somewhat has been said of the first Part of this Volume, in particular. Wherein our Author endeavoured to confirm the principal Facts of the *New Testament*, by Passages of ancient Authors, who were contemporary with our Saviour, or his Apostles, or lived near their Time.*

I now proceed to a brief Analysis of the second Part, which contains the History of the Remainder of the Christian Writers of the second Century, and their Testimony to the Books of the New Testament. These Writers are ranged in two Classes; the one comprehending those whose Writings are yet extant, the other, those whose Works are lost. The former are six in Number, *viz.* St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Polycrates*, *Heraclitus*, *Hermias*, *Serapion*, *Tertullian*. The latter are *Quadratus*, *Aristides*, *Agrippa Castor*, *Apollonius*, *Melito* of *Pella*, *Soter*, *Pinytus*, *Philip*, *Palmas*, *Modestus*, *Musanus*, *Claudius Apollinaris*, *Bardesanes*, *Apollonius*, *Rhodon*, *Victor*, *Bacchylus*, *Theophilus*, and *Narcissus*.

We begin with St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*. Our Author, according to the Method he constantly observes, first gives us the Memoirs of this Father, from *Cave*, *Fabricius*, and *Dupin*; he next sets down the Testimonies of divers both of the

* See *Works of the Learned* for *June* last, *p.* 455.

Ancients

Ancients and Moderns concerning him and his Writings; and then he goes on to obſerve what there is, ſubſervient to our preſent Purpoſe, that is, to the Confirmation of our Faith in the ſacred Scriptures, in thoſe Works of his that remain with us.

*Euſebius* has ſeveral Paſſages of St. *Clement*, relating to his Quotations of the Books of Scripture, or his Hiſtory of them. Theſe our Author recites at large; and then begins his Animadverſions on them, with conſidering the Difficulties in the two Accounts which *Euſebius* has given concerning St. *Mark*'s Goſpel in the firſt and laſt of them, and reconciling the ſeeming Contradiction that ſeems to be between them. Theſe Points being diſcuſſed, he entertains us with a great many very valuable Remarks of another kind, calculated entirely for the Eſtabliſhment of the Authority of the divine Oracles; for they diſtinctly ſhew us to what Parts of the New-Teſtament St. *Clement* has ſet his Seal, as we may ſay. Thus,

In the Citations abovementioned, Mr. *Lardner* ſhews us, there is a very valuable Teſtimony to the four Goſpels of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, St. *Luke*, and St. *John*, all which were owned and received by *Clement*. —— Moreover, there is a Tradition concerning the Order in which theſe four Goſpels were writ. — We have therein alſo an Aſſurance of the Genuineneſs of the Genealogies in the firſt Chapter of St. *Matthew*, and the third Chapter of St. *Luke*. — There is a particular Account of the Occaſion † of

† It was this, *Peter* having publickly Preach'd the Word at *Rome*, and having ſpoken the Goſpel by the Spirit, many of the Hearers entreated *Mark* to write the things that had been ſpoken, he having long accompanied *Peter*, and retaining what he had ſaid. It is added, that when *Mark* had compoſed the Goſpel, he deliver'd it to them who had aſked it of him: Which when *Peter* knew, he neither forbid it nor encouraged it.

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writing St. *Mark*'s Gospel. —— Of St. *John* he says, that he writ last. —— The *Acts of the Apostles* also is owned by him, and ascribed to *Luke* as the Author, who likewise translated the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. — The Epistle to the *Hebrews* is owned for *Paul*'s. *

St. *Clement* quotes several of St. *Paul*'s Epistles. Of this Mr. *Lardner* produces many Instances; and then notes, that the Epistle to *Philemon* is no where quoted in his remaining Works: This, he thinks, may be ascribed to the Brevity of it.

Having gone over the Epistles of *Paul*, our Author proceeds next to the seven Epistles, called *Catholic*. And with regard to these he chuses to be very circumstantial, in order to shew how far the remaining Works of *Clement* confirm or disagree with the Account given by *Eusebius*, which he has cited.

In the first Place he takes notice of divers Expressions of *Clement*'s, which seem to have some Affinity with others in the Epistle of St. *James*. But after a slight Examination he says, " He perceives " not in St. *Clement* any Quotation of the Epistle

* In the third Passage of *Eusebius*, relating to *Clement*, which our Author has cited, are these Words: " And he (*Clement*) " says, that the *Epistle to the* Hebrews *is* Paul's, *and that it was* " *wrote to the* Hebrews *in the* Hebrew *Language: And that* Luke " *having carefully translated it, published it for the Use of the* " Greeks. *Which is the Reason of that Conformity of Style which* " *is found in this Epistle and the* Acts of the Apostles. *But that* " *he did not make Use of that Inscription*, Paul the Apostle, *be-* " *cause, writing to the* Hebrews, *who were prejudiced against him,* " *and were suspicious of him, he wisely declined setting his Name* " *at the Beginning, lest he should offend them.*" *And afterwards he says:* " *Now as the blessed Presbyter said: Forasmuch as the Lord* " *was sent as the Apostle of Almighty God to the* Hebrews, Paul " *out of Modesty, as being sent to the* Gentiles, *does not stile him-* " *self the Apostle of the* Hebrews: *Both out of Respect to the* " *Lord, and that being the Preacher and Apostle of the* Gentiles, " *he over and above writ to the* Hebrews.



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"of St. *James*, or any Allusion or Reference to "it that can be depended upon.

But the first Epistle of *Peter*, the first Epistle of *John*, and the Epistle of *Jude*, are often quoted by him; of which Mr. *Lardner* has set down divers Examples. His Quotation of the first Epistle of *John* intimates that the Apostle had writ a second, if not also a third. "'Tis plain therefore, "says our Author, he knew and owned one more "Epistle of St. *John*, and possibly two more; "which he ascribed not to *John* the Elder, but to "*John* the Apostle, the same who is the Author "of the first, or larger Epistle."

Mr. *Lardner* next enters upon a Comparison of the Quotations which he has given us of *Clement*'s, with the Account which *Eusebius* has given of the Books cited by St. *Clement*. This closes with a Declaration, that "we have not at present any "Ground to think, that the Epistle of *James*, the "second of *Peter*, or the third of *John*, were re-"ceived by *Clement*, or so much as known to "him. However, as to the third Epistle of *John*, "considering the Shortness of it, we have no good "Argument to conclude, he was unacquainted "with it."

The Book of the *Revelation* is several times quoted by St. *Clement*, and in such a Way, as denotes he supposed *John* the Apostle to be the Penman of it.

Mr. *Lardner* now sums up the Testimony given by *Clement* to the *New Testament*. He then gives us some general Names, Titles and Divisions of the Books thereof, as they occur in the Writings of that Father. After which he goes into a critical Inquiry, "Whether *Clement* quotes any other "Writings, as sacred, or of Authority, and with "the same Respect which he expresses for those "now commonly received as *canonical*," and of which

which he has hitherto been ſpeaking. And that we may the better judge of this Queſtion, Mr. *Lardner* conſiders particularly *Clement*'s Quotations of two Sorts of Writings; thoſe which we call *Chriſtian* and *Eccleſiaſtical*, and ſome others, which we generally call *Apocryphal*.

Of the former Sort are, the Epiſtle of *Barnabas*, the Epiſtle of *Clement* of *Rome*, and the Shepherd of *Hermas*. There is no Occaſion, Mr. *Lardner* ſays, to take notice here of *Tatian*, or any other Writers beſides theſe. St. *Barnabas* is cited by *Clement* five or ſix times at leaſt, under the Title of *Apoſtle*. Our Author has made two Remarks on theſe Citations: One is to ſhew that *Barnabas* is ſtiled an *Apoſtle* only in an inferior Senſe, as it was often uſed by the ancient *Chriſtians*: The other is to prove that *Clement* did not eſteem the Epiſtle of *Barnabas* as canonical. Our *Clement* has divers times quoted his Name-ſake, of *Rome*, and *Hermas* alſo, under the Name of Apoſtles. Mr. *Lardner* has ſet down theſe Quotations, and makes the ſame Obſervation upon them, as on thoſe of *Barnabas*, *viz.* that *Clement* deemed them only what we term *Apoſtolical Men*. And with regard to the Citations of all theſe Writers, he notes in general, "That "it ſeems not very eaſy to determine the exact De- "gree of Reſpect which *Clement* had for them; "but he perceives no Evidence of his having the "ſame for them, as for the Goſpels, and the Epi- "ſtles of the Apoſtles.—He might eſteem them "next to Apoſtles; and in citing their Books, the "Forms of Citation may bear a Reſemblance with "thoſe uſed when thoſe of the Apoſtles themſelves "were mentioned; but ſtill there may be a ſuperi- "our Regard had to the Writings of the Apoſtles "above all other." As Mr. *Lardner* thinks there was by our *Clement*, and all Catholick *Chriſtians* in general. He adds, "*Mark* and *Luke*, Apoſtolical



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to Men, may write Histories of our Lord's and his Apostles Preaching and Doctrine, and Miracles; which shall be received as sacred, and of Authority. But no Epistles, or other Writings delivering Doctrines and Precepts (except only in the Way of historical Narration) can be of Authority, but those writ by Apostles.

The Apocryphal Books cited by *Clement* are, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and the *Egyptians*; *The Preaching* and *the Revelation of Peter*; *The Acts of Peter*; *Traditions of Matthias*; to which we may add, some *Words of Christ* not in our Gospels. It has been thought, Mr. *Lardner* says, that some of these are quoted by him as authentick Scripture. Mr. *Le Clerc*, and some others are of this Opinion; Dr. *Mill* has declared himself of a different one. Mr. *Lardner* enters into a Discussion of this Matter, whereby we perceive his Sentiments to agree with those of the Doctor. He thinks, upon the whole, it appears, That St. *Clement* received as *Scripture*, in the highest Sense of the Word, no *Christian* Writings, besides the Books of the *New Testament*, now commonly received by us.

Mr. *Lardner* closes what he says of *Clement*, with an Account of his Notion concerning the *Sibylline* Books. He says, he thinks himself obliged to acknowledge that this Father, as well as St. *Theophilus* and some other *Greek* ones of the second Century, had a much greater Respect for the *Sibyl* than they deserved. For he is well satisfied, that the *Sibylline* Verses quoted by them are the Forgery of some Christian. Nevertheless, *Clement* calls the *Sibyl* a Prophetess, and seems to quote her Verses as Scripture in the strictest Sense of the Word, together with the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*. Yet, after all, he supposes it not likely, that he did

esteem

sixteen, then of equal Authority with the Books of the *Jewish* Canon.

Mr. *Lardner* observes further, that *Clemens* himself affords us Evidence, that those Verses which he quotes in the Greek, were rejected by them in his Time. "For having proposed to them the "*Sibyl Prophetess* as a Mistress to teach them, and "quoted some Verses from her, he adds: *But* "*if you don't chuse to hearken to a Prophetess, hear* "*your Philosopher, the Epicurus Heraclitus.* Why "should they not hearken to a Prophetess as readily "as to a Philosopher? *Clemens* gives us the Reason "for: The Philosopher was theirs, the Prophetess "not. The Heathen People therefore knew not "a thing of these Verses, till they were found out, "or rather forged by some *Christians*, and then "incautiously and imprudently recommended by "others."

I find nothing that merits a particular Notice in what Mr. *Lardner* has said of *Polycrates*, *Heraclitus*, and several other Writers near the latter End of the second Century or *Irenæus*. He is very brief in his Accounts of and Reflections on them. He is but short upon *Serapion*, Bishop of *Antioch*; he has given us the Testimony of *Eusebius* and *Hieronymus* concerning him. His most considerable Work was a Book concerning the *Gospel* that goes under the Name of *Peter*. It was a Detection of the Heresies and Absurdities of that spurious Piece. *Eusebius* has preserved a Fragment of it, which Mr. *Lardner* has quoted, and thinks deserving of some Remarks. Here are three of them:

"Therein is seen the great Respect paid by Christians to the Writings of the Apostles. *Serapion* "assures us, the Church received the Apostles as "*Christ*; that is, their Writings as the very Words "spoken by *Christ* himself.

His Method of judging of the Genuineness and Authority of any Books of Scripture is observable. Those only which had been delivered by an authentick Tradition, as the Apostles, he received. 2. The Book called the *Gospel of Peter*, was no Part of canonical Scripture, nor any Writing of *Peter*'s. It had not been delivered as such.

TERTULLIAN fills up a very long Chapter. We have first a general Account of this celebrated Father, and then some Testimonies of the Ancients, and Observations of the Moderns concerning him. In this Part our Author endeavours to fix the Time of his Birth, of his becoming a *Montanist*, of the writing his Apology, and of his Death. He then proceeds to consider his Testimony to the Books of the *New Testament*. He begins with a Passage concerning the four Gospels and their Authors, taken out of his Books against *Marcion*, writ in the Year of Christ 207, or 208. This Passage, as our Author quotes it, shews at once the Number of the Gospels universally received, the Names of the four Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, and their proper Characters; two of which were Apostles and Companions of Christ himself, and the other two Apostolical Men, or Companions of *Christ*'s Apostles. In another Passage, which Mr *Lardner* quotes, *Tertullian* asserts against *Marcion*, the Genuineness and Integrity of our four Gospels, of which *Christians* had the fullest Persuasion, upon the Ground of a very sure Testimony of the Churches from the Time of writing them to his own Age.

It has been sometimes said, that *Tertullian*, in this Passage, supposes the Gospels of *Mark* and *Luke* to have been reviewed, and then approved and confirmed by the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*. But Mr *Lardner* thinks, that *Tertullian* means no more, than

than that they were the Gospels of those Apostles for the *Masters* and Substance of them to which he had illustrated and confirmed his Notion, he goes on to advance several more Passages, the Purport of which is the same with that of the former, *viz.* to establish the divine Character of the Evangelists.

Our Author then proceeds to those Passages of this Writer as bear Testimony to the *Acts of the Apostles*, and to the Majority of St. *Paul's* Epistles. The Passage relating to the *Acts*, Mr. *Lardner* says, shews the great Authority and Usefulness of that Book, and that *Christians* had then no authentic Account of the first Preaching and Progress of the Gospel after our Saviour's Resurrection, besides what was contained therein.

St. *Paul's* Epistle to *Philemon* is no where quoted in those Works of *Tertullian* that are now remaining, nor expressly named. We may then ascribe this, our Author says, to its Brevity. But yet he has cited a Passage, which, he says, must relate to this Epistle, and where one may be apt to think it had been named by *Tertullian*, tho' it does not stand there in our present Copies.

There is a remarkable and well known Passage of this Father, in his Book *de Præscriptione*, which Mr. *Lardner* next cites, where he exhorts those he writes to, "to visit the Apostolical Churches, in "which the very Chairs of the Apostles still pre-"side, in which their very *authentick Letters* are "recited, *&c.*" This, Mr. *Lardner* says, must be owned to be a difficult Passage, about which there has been much Dispute, without coming to the right Meaning. The Signification of authentick Letters is the Matter in Question, and this he endeavours to clear, by some Considerations, which he offers for that Purpose.

Having carefully discussed this Point, he proceeds to observe, how the Epistle to the *Hebrews* is quoted

by *Tertullian*, when he was plainly a *Montanist*. Our Author says, there is enough in what *Tertullian* says of it, to satisfy us, that he means the same Epistle to the *Hebrews* which we have under that Title, and that is supposed to be writ by *Barnabas*. *Tertullian* has expresly quoted this Epistle in no other Passage but this we are now speaking of; but Mr. *Lardner* has cited others, in which it may seem to be referred to. On the first Passage he has made certain Remarks, the Heads of which here follow.

1. That at the Time this was written, the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was received by a good Number of *Christian* Churches, and those, as we may reasonably suppose, of the *Latin* Communion. 2. *Tertullian* ascribing this Epistle to *Barnabas*, is a Proof, that he being the Author of it was then the common Opinion of the Churches with which he was acquainted. If he had had any good ground to ascribe it to *Paul*, he would (as Mr. *Lardner* says) have done it here. 3. It does not appear, that he gave the highest Degree of Respect to this Epistle. He considers it only as written by an Apostolical Man. 4. Nor can we, from any thing *Tertullian* has said, conclude certainly, whether these Churches that received it, esteemed it as of the highest Authority or not.

By what he has said, Mr. *Lardner* thinks, he has evinced, that *Tertullian* received thirteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, and that they were received universally by the *Christians* of his Time.

His next Inquiry is, whether this Father received the Epistle of St. *James*; and his Judgment is, that he knew nothing of any Epistle of *James*. But he shews, that the first Epistle of *Peter* is expresly quoted by him, as that Apostle's. At the same time, that there are in his Works no expres Quotations of St. *Peter*'s second Epistle, or Refe-

rences

reasons to it. Mr. *Lardner* produces Instances of his often quoting the first Epistle of *John*, and the Revelation of *John*, and of his once citing the Epistle of *Jude*.

Altho' the Passages we have been speaking of afford several Testimonies to the Sincerity and Integrity of the Gospels and other Books of the New Testament in *Tertullian*'s Time, as well as to their Genuineness; nevertheless our Author produces and descants on a few more to the like Purpose. He afterwards puts his Readers upon observing some Forms of Quotation, and general Titles and Divisions of the Books of the New Testament. From these he hath it plainly appears, that the Collection of the sacred *Christian* Books was, in *Tertullian*'s Days, called the New Testament, and that it was divided into two Parts, one of which was called the *Gospel*, the other the *Apostle*.

'Tis very likely, your Authorship says, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was included in this latter Part, and was joined with the Epistle of the Apostle. But it does not yet appear, in which Part the Book of the Acts of the Apostles was then placed. Mr. *Lardner* applies himself to the Resolution of this Point; which leads him to an Observation on the Order of the several Gospels. "It seems then in *Tertullian*'s "Time, in the *African* Churches at least, they were "disposed according to the Quality of the Writers; in the first Place those two which were "written by Apostles, then the other two writ by Apostolical Men."

There are three or four other Matters whereon our Author enlarges in the Sequel of this Chapter, which I shall barely mention.

That the several Books of the New Testament were in *Tertullian*'s Days divided into any certain Number of Sections or Chapters is not easily proved. However, he notes a Passage or two, which may

seem

seem to give some ground to think they were so divided.

2. *Tertullian* affords a Proof, that there was in his Time a *Latin* Version of some or all of the Books of the New Testament.

3. The Scriptures of the New-Testament were open to all, and well known in the World in the Time of *Tertullian*.

4. There is little or no Suspicion of *Tertullian*'s quoting any *Christian* Apocryphal Book with the same Respect as he has quoted those now commonly received as Canonical, unless it be that of *Hermas*: And that he rejected when a *Montanist*.

5. There was, so early as this Father's Time, a Book forged in the Name of St. *Paul*.

Mr. *Lardner* closes this Chapter with the ensuing Reflections.

"We have seen a very valuable Testimony to "the Scriptures of the New-Testament, in the re- "maining Works of *Tertullian*, writ in the latter "end of the second and the beginning of the third "Century. 'Tis considerable for the Number of "the Books cited by him; almost all those which "are now received by *Christians* as Canonical, with- "out so much as a Suspicion of placing any other "in the same Rank with any of them; and for "the large and numerous Quotations of them. "There are perhaps more and larger Quotations of "the small Volume of the New-Testament in this "one *Christian* Author, than of all the Works of "*Cicero*, though of so uncommon Excellence for "Thought and Stile, in the Writers of all Cha- "racters for several Ages. —— *Tertullian*'s Testi- "mony is considerable too for the evident Tokens "of that high Respect which was paid to these Scrip- "tures. Indeed they would not have been so much "quoted, if they had not been greatly esteemed. "Nor have the differing Sentiments of those called

"Hereticks

"Hereticks done us any lasting Prejudice. The "Conteſt which they occaſioned, has increaſed our "Proofs of the Genuineſs, Authority, and Inte-"grity of the Evangelical and Apoſtolical Scrip-"tures."

Beſide the Writers with whom we have hitherto been concerned, there were many others in the ſecond Century, whoſe Works are now loſt. Of the chief of theſe our Author has given a ſhort Hiſtory in his twenty-eighth Chapter; that, as he expreſſes himſelf, his Readers may have the clearer Idea of the Learning and Labours of the *Chriſtians* of that Time, and may the better judge what Diſadvantage we lie under for the want of their Writings.

However, I find no Reaſon for mentioning any Particulars of this Chapter. I therefore proceed to the twenty-ninth Chapter, where Mr. *Lardner* treats on the ſuppoſitious Writings of the ſecond Century; viz. *The Acts of* PAUL *and* THECLA; *The* SYBILLINE VERSES; *The* TESTAMENTS *of the* XII PATRIARCHS; *The* RECOGNITIONS; *The* CLEMENTINE HOMILIES; *The* CLEMENTINE EPITOME.

Whatever the Views of the Authors of theſe might be, Mr. *Lardner* ſays he has thought the Writings themſelves might be of ſome Uſe to us at this Time. If in theſe Pieces the main Facts and Principles of the New Teſtament are aſſerted, this may be eſteemed an additional Confirmation of the Truth of the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, beſides what is afforded in the genuine Writings of this early Age. For this Reaſon, he tells us, he has made ſome Extracts out of divers ſuppoſitious Pieces, which in this Chapter he propoſes to the Reader's Conſideration.

He begins with THE ACTS, or *Travels of* PAUL *and* THECLA. Theſe he has in a former Chapter ſhewn not to be a Work of the Apoſtle *Paul*, but of ſome weak Presbyter of *Aſia*, and never

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ver to have had any Authority in the Church of *Christ*. He now says, 'Tis not certainly known, when they were composed. It is however probable, that they were first in the latter End of the first, or the Beginning of the second Century. Confirm. " There is still extant a double Version of them, both in *Greek* and *Latin*. Mr. *Lardner* thinks the *Latin* Version more ancient than the *Greek*. However, he supposes both to be very much interpolated. Of this Piece, he cites a few Passages, containing, as he apprehends, Allusions to, or Imitations of some Parts of the *New Testament*.

He next takes in hand the *Sibylline Oracles*, which we have now in eight Books. These, he tells us, are not the same which were kept and read with so much Care and Veneration, near any other *Heathen* Collection, but a *Christian* Forgery. He has set down what Mr. *Turner*, Dr. *Cave*, Dr. *Prideaux*, and *Fabricius* have said of them. We have good Ground, he says, to conclude, that our Collection contains a great Part of the *Sibylline* Books, used by the Fathers; because it has in it almost all the Verses particularly quoted by them, and answers the Character which they give of theirs. This he evinces by Quotations from *Justin Martyr* and St. *Austin*. But some things contained in our present Collection may have been added to those *Sibylline* Writings, which were in the Hands of the first Fathers. Mr. *Lardner* thinks this to be the Case with respect to the *Acrostick* in particular, for a Reason which he assigns. He therefore makes no Use of it in his Quotations here, which ought, he says, to be confined to Writings of the second Century. And that the main Part of this Collection was made within that time, he briefly evinces by two or three Observations.

When he has done this, he offers several Examples of the Use the Author appears to have made of

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the Books of the *New Testament*, and points out the particular Texts of it, to which the Passages he cites seem to bear a special Reference.

These things, he says, must be reckoned a "Confirmation of our Gospels, and satisfy us, "that they were the Books used by *Christian* Peo"ple, containing an authentick History of Je"sus *Christ*, his Birth, Preaching, Miracles, Suf"ferings, and Resurrection.

The Author of these Oracles, Mr. *Lardner* says, has borrowed very little from the Epistles. But he may be supposed indebted to the Book of the *Revelation* for several things. However, he transcribes nothing of that kind. He contents himself with having shewn the constant Respect to our Gospels that is evident in these pretended Predictions.

He next answers an Objection which may be made to the Genuineness of our present Collection of *Sibylline* Verses, or to its being the same that was used by the ancient Fathers: From the Improbability of any Men's taking these for ancient Predictions of the *Sybil* writ before our Saviour's Coming.

Mr. *Lardner* remarks, at the Close of this Section, that "whatever was the particular View of "the Author in composing this Work, and how"ever improperly some ancient Writers have pro"duced Testimonies from it in their Defences of "the *Christian* Religion; it is now of use to us, "as it affords an Argument that our Gospels were "extant, and in much Repute, in the Author's "Time."

Mr. *Lardner*'s History of the three other spurious Pieces, viz. The *Testaments* of the *Patriarchs*, The *Recognitions* of *Clement*, and the *Clementine Homilies*, tends to shew us how subservient they are to the Purpose now mentioned; that is, to the affording us an indubitable Proof of our Gospels being extant, and in high Repute, so early as the Time of

their

their Forgery. This is all it is requiſite I ſhould ſay of them. At the End of this Volume we have ſome Additions to the preceding Volume of this ſecond Part. Theſe are followed by, I. An alphabetical Catalogue of Chriſtian Authors and Writings of the firſt two Centuries. II. A Liſt of remarkable Quotations and Explications of Texts of the New Teſtament. III. An Alphabetical Table of divers Matters in both Volumes. I ſhould have taken notice, that at the Entrance of this Volume there is a Chronological Table, wherein are ſet down the Reigns of the *Roman* Emperors during the two firſt Centuries of the Chriſtian Æra.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE *WORKS of the LEARNED.*

## *For* OCTOBER, 1740.

### ARTICLE XVI.

MATHO; *or the* Cosmotheoria Puerilis. *A Dialogue. In which the first Principles of Philosophy and Astronomy are accommodated to the Capacity of young Persons, or such as have yet no Tincture of these Sciences. Hence the Principles of Natural Religion are deduced. Translated and enlarged by the* Author. *In Two Volumes.* Octavo. London: *Printed and Sold by* J. Hodges *on* London-Bridge. 1740. Vol. I. *Pages* 432.

THE Speakers in this Dialogue are MATHO and PHILON. The first, a Boy of a fine Genius, aspiring to Knowledge, and requesting Instruction: The other, a Philosopher, versed in the Sciences, and condescending to the Capacity of his Pupil. The whole is expressed in the most plain



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and familiar Way, without the least Ornament in the Compoſition or Style. The firſt Volume includes ſix Conferences. In the firſt, *Philon* leads his Diſciple into a Notion of the ſpherical Figure of the Earth, and gives him an Idea of the Nature of Gravity. In the ſecond, the ſpherical Figure of the Earth is demonſtrated: The Uſefulneſs of Mountains is evinced: The Magnitude of the Earth and Moon, and the Diſtances of the Moon and Sun from the Earth are computed. The Abſurdity of ſuppoſing the diurnal Rotation of the Heavens is inſiſted on: The daily Revolution of the Earth on its Axis is proved; and the Order and periodical Revolutions of the Planets in the ſolar Syſtem are ſtated. In the third Conference divers Objections againſt the diurnal Motion of the Earth on its Axis are anſwered: The Difference between abſolute and relative, true and apparent Motion, is explained. Other things treated of in this Conference are, The Magnitude of the Sun in reſpect to the Earth: The Reaſon why the Sun ſhould be ſo big: The Arguments which prove the annual Motion of the Earth. It is then ſhewn how that Motion is known by the Stars in the Night-time; how the great Changes in Nature, with regard to us, are effected by the diurnal and annual Motions of the Earth; and how the Viciſſitudes of the Seaſons, and lengthening or ſhortening of the Days and Nights, are cauſed by theſe two Motions.

In the fourth Conference, from the Conſideration of the Beauty and Order of the planetary Syſtem, *Matho* is led to inquire how it began to be; or who was the Author of ſuch a Work? The Principles are laid down by which this may be diſcovered. It is ſhewn, by a Variety of Arguments, that the Planets are continually impelled by two diſtinct Forces, without which they could not revolve in Orbits about the Sun. That any Body of itſelf ſe-

fists to revolve about a Center: That *Gravity*, and the *Attraction* of *Cohesion*, cannot be the Effects of Matter, or any mechanical Cause. Hence *Matho* discovers that these Effects must proceed from the immediate Power of the Deity. This affords an Occasion of deducing the *Unity* and *absolute Perfections* of the supreme Being in a plain and natural Way.

In the fifth Conference, the Consequences of the Inactivity of Matter are considered, with reference to the Productions in and about our Earth. It is evinced that Matter owes its Original to an immaterial Being: That the simple Existence of material Substance evidences the *infinite Power*, and the various Species of Things formed out of it, the *Wisdom* and *Goodness* of this Being. It is shewn, that any sort of Matter we know hath passed thro' divers Operations, and various Art, before it falls within our Knowledge. The Transitions from dead Matter to vegitating Bodies, from the most imperfect Plant to Man, rising in a continued Scale of Perfection, are pointed out. It is demonstrated, that the Propagation of Plants and Animals by Seeds is not mechanical; or that the Seed is not the Cause of the future Plant, nor the former Plant of the Seed; but that the one is appointed to follow the other, in order to constitute a settled Course of Nature. Hence an *eternal Succession* of *Causes* and *Effects* is shewn to be a groundless and unphilosophical Supposition. The mutual Aptitudes, Relations, and Connexions between the several Parts of the Soul, are considered as Tokens of the Unity of the efficient Cause of the Universe of Beings; This is particularly manifested in the Article of Food. The successive *Evolution* of Bodies, in the Formation of many Species of winged Insects, is the last Topick of Discourse. The Conversation afterwards turns upon that which we call Instinct,

whereby the inferior Creatures are wonderfully impelled to such a regular and beneficial Course of Operations, as shews it to be a Principle more perfect than the Reason of Mankind. The last Point handled in this Conference is that of monstrous Productions, occasioned by Accidents, disturbing the regular Process in the Formation of animal Bodies, according to the settled Course of Nature.

The Consequences from the Subject of the fifth Conference are insisted on in the sixth. Where it is shewn, that it does not belong to any Power to make Matter a self-moving Substance; and that the Supposition of the Possibility of it proceeds from our Ignorance, in joining together in our own Imagination inconsistent Effects. The Folly of appealing to Omnipotence in such Cases, or where other Proofs may be had, which are more within our Reach, is set forth: And hence it is inferred, that all the Motions in the Universe are owing immediately to an immaterial Cause. The several Motions in the animal Body, on each of which Life depends, are next considered. It is shewn on what account, and in what sense, the various Motions produced by the Deity in vegitable and animal Bodies may be called *mechanical*: The greatest part of spontaneous Motion is evinced to be of that Nature. The two distinct Powers, or two different *Motives*, that concur to produce spontaneous Motion, are specified. *Philon* afterwards expatiates on the Nature of the Soul, Human and Brutal. It is proved, that the most perfect Brutes are irrational; and it is shewn, that nothing more confirms this Opinion, than the Objections that are brought against it. Reason and Instinct are the following Heads of Discourse. The wonderful Nature of the latter is set forth; and it is shewn to be the Band of Connexion between the vegitating and animated Parts of the Scale of Being. Next is pointed out the

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Misery it must be to Mankind, if Brutes reasoned. It is then made to appear, that the different Structure of Body does not make the Human Soul rational; and that Eternal Truths discover to us immediately, and by themselves, an eternal Intellect.

This is the Summary which the Author himself has drawn up of the Contents of this Volume. What remains, to give the Reader an Idea of the Reasoning and Style thereof, is to exhibit a few Specimens, relating to one or two of the principal Articles above named.

The first Citation shall be exactly conformable to the Original, merely to shew the Manner in which that is compiled: For the rest, I will set down Mr. *Baxter*'s Arguments, and as far as possible in his own Terms; but I will omit all I can of the little interlocutory Forms, which serve only to carry on the Dialogue, and are on no other account agreeable. The first Citation comprises those Passages where the Reasons are assigned of *heavy Things tending to the Earth, even from opposite Sides of it, and by Motions contrary to each other*; and of *the Earth's remaining in the free Space, without tending to any Side*. MATHO asks; PHILON answers.

*M.* But pray tell me, *Philon*, what is the Cause why heavy Things tend to the Earth, even from opposite Sides of it, and by Motions contrary to each other? For from what you have already shewn me, it follows, that if there were a Hole through the whole Thickness of the Earth, as far as the Antipodes, and if two Stones were let down at the same time, one from our Side, and the other from the opposite Mouth of the Hole, they would, by the same Gravity impelling them, run opposite to each other, and encounter at the Center. *P.* Indeed, *Matho*, if you go on at this rate, I'm afraid I must bid you farewell. *M.* Why so, dear *Philon*? *P.* Lest I should be forced to own my Ignorance. *M.* I

*M.* I wish I were able to bring you to that Pass. *P.* I am not very far from it already. *M.* I see well enough, *Philon*, what is the Meaning of this; you think that I could not understand the Cause of this Gravity of Bodies. *P.* On my Word, I had no such Thought: But I foresee you will lead me very deep into these Matters. *M.* We are at the Center of the Earth already; we can go no deeper than that Point. *P.* You are disposed to be pleasant, *Matho*. *M.* To be serious then; if you would complete your Favour to me, tell me the *true Causes* of Things, as well as the *Things themselves*. If I should not be able to comprehend them, you will lose only a little Labour: But if I should chance to understand any thing, that will be a considerable Gain to me.

*P.* Well, but let us first consider for a little, from some Parallel Case, how Bodies thus tend to the Earth: That perhaps will bring us near the true Cause, and we may resume the Question at some other time. Wherefore,

Tell me; Did you ever see a *Load-stone?*

*M.* Not once, but often; and have frequently tried, by way of Diversion with my Comrades, the strange Virtue it has. *P.* You have observed it then to draw the Iron to itself? *M.* Yes; and when it had brought it close, it kept it there; so that it required some Force to separate them again. *P.* But did the Load-stone only attract the Iron in this Case? *M.* Nay, the Iron drew the Load-stone with equal Strength, as it appeared to us: For if the Key, with which we made the Trial, were kept from moving towards it, the Load-stone came over the whole Distance between them, and applied itself to the Key, sometimes one way, and sometimes another. *P.* There are indeed some Singularities in this Affair; but the Iron and Load-stone attract each other mutually. *M.* That seems to be the

Case indeed: and certainly it is a most surprising Sight! *P.* And yet scarce any thing is more common than such a Sight. *M.* How! such a Sight as that common! *P.* Did not you yourself observe just now, that two Stones let down from opposite Parts, would rush violently to each other through the whole Thickness of the Earth? and that any sort of Bodies, if there were a Passage for them thither, would run on till they met at the Center of the Earth? In short, that all heavy Bodies move directly to that Point, as far as they are allowed to move, since they move directly to the Surface of the Earth; of which various Motion from all different Parts you so earnestly desired to know the Cause. *M.* How thoughtless I am! But your mentioning the Load-stone had put the Earth quite out of my Head. *P.* Well then, is it any thing less wonderful, do you think, that all Bodies round us should so violently rush towards the same Point, than that the Iron and Load-stone should move to each other? *M.* Truly, when I consider the Matter seriously, I think it is no less wonderful; or rather, that it is the same Wonder ten thousand times repeated. I know not how it comes to pass, but we never think at all on the Subject. *P.* Think of it then at your leisure. —— *M.* I find I can make nothing out by thinking. If all Bodies moved the same way, such Motion might appear natural to them: But when they rush directly against each other, how can that be natural? *P.* You go rightly to work, *Matho*: It is a great Point gained, *to get a Sight of the Wonder*; to be awakened from that supine Thoughtlessness which makes the Gross of Mankind look on *Things astonishing* with Indifference, because they see them constantly. Nor is there any thing in Nature more astonishing than this common Sight: For, that I may observe thus much to you by the way, this Action in Bodies of rushing so violently

all to one Point, which we call *Falling*, is not the Action or Effect of Matter itſelf. *M.* Of what other thing then is it the Action? *P.* Of what thing do you think? *M.* Of ſomething certainly that is not Matter. *P.* You have hit on a right Diſtinction; wherefore let me earneſtly beſeech you, *Matho*, never to forget it. *M.* I do not ſee the great Merit of hitting on a Diſtinction which was unavoidable: For if this Thing which produces the Action of falling in Bodies, be not Matter itſelf, it muſt neceſſarily be ſomething different from Matter. But ſince you ſo earneſtly deſire me to remember it, I ſhall ſuppoſe ſomething of Importance is concealed under your Requeſt; ſo there will be no Danger of forgetting it.

*P.* Leaving it therefore at preſent, tell me, if there were many different Particles of Iron ſcattered up and down, would they not all, think you, meet together from the oppoſite Parts round about, by means of the Magnet attracting them? *M.* It ſeems probable they would; for they muſt yield to that Force which moves a greater Quantity. *P.* And if there were two or more Load-ſtones, would not they likewiſe draw each other? *M.* I ſuppoſe they muſt; and it is reaſonable to think that their Force would be increaſed by their Number. *P.* If then we ſhould ſuppoſe the Magnets and Particles of Iron to be multiplied to any Number, or increaſed to any Quantity; what do you think would be the Reſult? *M.* They would all, I ſuppoſe, meet and make up one Magnitude or Bulk, which would afterwards ſtick cloſe together by the ſame Force that brought the Parts firſt into Contact. For the Key and Load-ſtone never part, till they are forced aſunder. *P.* What if any Particle of this Bulk were by ſome external Cauſe disjoined from the reſt? *M.* I imagine it would fall back again, the reſt by their united Power retracting it.

*P.* Ob-

*P.* Observe how much you have granted me. *M.* I do not well know what you mean by this. *P.* Consider with yourself a little, whether what we have been speaking of just now might not be applied to make you conceive what we were speaking of before, concerning heavy Bodies moving towards the Center of the Earth. — *M.* Now indeed I perceive what it is you intend. You mean, that the Earth attracts to itself all Bodies in the ambient Space, and is mutually attracted by them; just as the Magnet draws and is drawn by the small Particles of Iron. *P.* If then all the Parts of this our Earth were endued with such a Power of mutually attracting each other, do you think there would be need of any other *Support*, or *Foundation*, on which the Weight of the whole might rest? *M.* Let me consider this Question a little, before I pretend to answer it. — You say, *If all the Parts of the Earth were endued with such a Power of mutually attracting each other.* I see plainly by their falling back, that the Earth attracts Bodies raised to any Height from it; but it is not so plain, that *all* the Parts of the Earth attract each other, when they are at rest in the Earth itself. *P.* Reflect a little, *Matho*; does not the same Attraction, that draws Bodies back to the Earth, keep them still at rest there, just as it is in the Particles of Iron sticking close to the Magnet, which you yourself observed? *M.* Pardon this Inattention; I see it must be so. *P.* Have not all Bodies Weight, as much when they lie on the Ground, as when they are hanging in a Balance? *M.* They have; otherwise it should require no Force to raise them from the Ground. *P.* Is what we call *Weight* or *Gravity* in Bodies, any other Thing than the constant Force of this Attraction? *M.* It is nothing else but the Force that draws them back to the Earth, and keeps them there. *P.* Can you suppose that any Bodies through

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the whole Mass of the Earth have no Weight? *M.* I conceive they all have Weight; since it would require a Force to raise them from the Place they are in. *P.* If then Weight be nothing but the constant Force of Attraction, and if all Parts through the whole Mass of the Earth have Weight, is it not the same as to say, that all the Parts of the Earth are attracted? *M.* There is no denying it. *P.* But if each Part be attracted, must it not be attracted by the rest? *M.* Certainly it must. *P.* And if this be true of every Part separately (that it is attracted, and attracted by the rest) will not that shew, that every Part is both *attracted*, and *attracts* the rest? *M.* This Question is too intricate for me to see through. *P.* In this Case you may suppose the Parts to be great or small: Now if you conceive the Earth to consist only of two Parts, will not each mutually attract the other, and be attracted by it? *M.* Without doubt. *P.* And if you conceive three Parts in it only, will not each attract, and be attracted by the other two? *M.* That is equally plain. *P.* Just so, if you suppose only four Parts in the Earth, any one of them is attracted by the other two, and any three of them join to attract the fourth. *M.* I perceive now the Method; you may go on at this rate for any Number of Parts possible, still proving that any one attracts all the rest, and is attracted by them. And truly it is wonderful that any the least Particle of Matter in the Earth should attract all the rest, let them be as many as can be imagined.

*P.* I am glad, *Macbo*, this Observation did not escape you; the Thing is not only wonderful, but *astonishing*. Nor was it strange that you did not perceive, at first View, what requires Exercise and Variety of Thought to be rightly apprehended. Let me also ask you this Question, which may perhaps give you another View of this Particular:

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Can any Body be attracted by another, and not mutually attract *that* by which it is attracted? *M.* I do not really see the Necessity why a Body by being attracted should attract; and yet I believe it must be so, from what you have said above. *P.* Take it thus then; Can a Body adhere or cleave to any other Body, and yet that other not adhere to it? *M.* I see the Necessity in this Case. *P.* But do not Bodies adhere to each other by the same Force that first brings them together? *M.* They do. *P.* Then a Body cannot be attracted without attracting, nor attract without being attracted. If the contrary were possible, it would require some degree of Force to separate the *attracted Body* from the other; since it was drawn by a certain Force: And yet it would require no Degree of Force to separate *that other* from it, because that was drawn by no Force; that is, it would require Force to separate the Iron from the Magnet, but no Force to separate the Magnet from the Iron. *M.* That is both absurd in common Sense, and false in fact. And thus I see that any the least Particle, by being attracted by the whole Bulk of the Earth, must *necessarily* attract that whole Bulk, or every individual Particle in it: Which again surprises me to consider, how *manifold* the *Action* must be from any one Particle, to an inconceivable Number of other Particles. And I am satisfied already that such *manifold Action* cannot be the *Work* of the little Particle itself. *P.* You prevent me agreeably; *Method* in making the proper Observations as we go along. But tell me, is not the attracting of the whole Earth the united Attractions of all its Parts? *M.* It is, as much as the Weight of any Body is the united Weight of all its Parts. *P.* For as Weight does not differ from Attraction, so neither does the Earth differ from all its Parts. *P.* If the Earth then had but half as much Matter in it (for all as many Parts)

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would our Bodies be equally heavy towards it, as at preſent? *M.* They muſt certainly be much lighter. *P.* And if it had twice as much Matter, would the Gravity of Bodies be the ſame? *M.* They ſhould be much heavier. *P.* Can Gravity or Weight therefore belong to Body itſelf, which may be thus leſſened or increaſed, without any Change of Matter happening to the Body? *M.* I ſee clearly it cannot, and that the *Action of falling* is not the Action of the Stone that falls. *P.* But may it not be ſuppoſed to be the Action of the Matter of the Earth, towards which the Stone falls? *M.* It cannot, if the Obſervation which I made juſt now, and which you likewiſe approved of, be right: For the ſmall Particles, of which the Maſs of the Earth conſiſts, cannot conſpire from *all Places*, towards every *particular Place*, to produce Gravity in every thing that falls, nay, in every thing that hath Weight. To ſuppoſe *every Particle* acting *every way*, is inconceivable. Such manifold and diſtant Actions, as I ſaid, cannot be the *Work* of theſe *little things*. *P.* You are in the right, *Matho*; *nothing can act where it is not*; nor therefore can theſe Atoms act at thouſands of Miles round them. *M.* I think now I underſtand the Nature of Attraction better; only tell me, ſince all Bodies in the Earth mutually attract each other, why do we not obſerve this in any two Bodies; two Stones, for inſtance? *P.* The Force whereby they tend to the Earth is incomparably greater than that Force whereby they tend to one another; wherefore the ſtronger Force overcomes the weaker, and renders it unobſervable. *M.* I ſee indeed it muſt be ſo. *P.* And yet in ſome Circumſtances their attracting one another is perceptable. *M.* Pray tell me in what Circumſtances? *P.* If you take a Veſſel of Water, and put into it ſome ſmall Bits of Cork, or other light Bodies, not at great Diſtances from each other, and

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so as not to disturb the Water in putting them in; you will see them attract each other and meet; and if one Piece be considerably larger than the rest, by moving it gently with the Point of a Pin, you will see it draw the rest after it, wherever it goes. *M.* This I shall try, as soon as I go to my Chamber. The Sight must be amusing, and seems to confirm what you have said. *P.* It does. For tho' these little Bodies attract each other, when lying at like Distances on the Ground, yet their Attraction cannot be then observed. *M.* It is not to be expected, since they have not any liquid thing to swim in.

*P.* I suppose you can now answer the Question I put to you before. *M.* Pray put it again? *P.* It was thus: If all the Parts of this our Earth are endued with a Power of mutually attracting each other; in that Case would there be need of any other *Support* or *Foundation*, on which the whole might rest? *M.* I see plainly there would not; for the Weight of the whole appears now nothing more, than the mutual Endeavour of all the Parts to come as near together as possible; or, if I may express myself so, the Weight of the whole now disappears, or tends only to its own Center. So that regarding no external thing from without, but only this mutual Embrace, or Contact from within, by that alone it remains firmly settled and immovable. *P.* You therefore see how this mighty Ball of the Earth may remain in this free Space, without tending to any Side; *poised by its own Weight*, as the Poet says, that is, poised by the internal Balance of its own Attraction.

This Citation may suffice to give the Reader a true Notion of the Mode of the Original; for in this manner are all the Doctrines of it explicated. Hereafter I shall have no regard to the Form, but let down the Substance only of Mr. *Baxter*'s Reasoning on another of

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the principal Points handled in this Volume, retaining however his Expreſſion. So then,

From conſidering the Force whereby Bodies are attracted to the Earth, our Author proceeds to that by which the Parts of thoſe Bodies are ſo firmly united with one another. This is called *Coheſion*. This he ſhews to be in many reſpects different from the former, or *Gravitation*, and to be, as well as that, the Effect of an immaterial Cauſe.

Theſe two ſorts of *Attraction*, he tells us, are far from being equally ſtrong: "For we can eaſily "raiſe a Pebble from the Ground; that is, we "can eaſily get the better of its *Attraction*: But "the firm Coheſion of its Parts we can neither "overcome by Strength or Art." * Nor is this Coheſion of Parts, he notes, equally ſtrong in all Bodies. *Glaſs* and *Iron*, *Wax* and *Braſs* are not equally firm.

This Coheſion cannot be aſcribed to Matter itſelf, as the Cauſe of it; "ſince if Matter cannot "do that which is leſs, or effect *Gravitation* in it-"ſelf (as our Author hereafter evinces it cannot) it "can much leſs do that which is greater, or pro-"duce in itſelf the ſtronger Effort of Coheſion.

But there is another remarkable Difference between theſe two kinds of Attraction; *viz.* that "whereas "the Attraction of Gravitation is mutual between "all the Particles of Matter in the whole Earth, "the Attraction of Coheſion is only between the "contiguous Parts of Bodies. — And as in the "former Caſe the infinite Multiplicity of Action "from any one Particle to every other Atom in "the whole terreſtrial Globe, is juſtly to be ad-"mired; ſo in this of Coheſion it is equally won-

* May not the *Coheſion* of the Parts of ſolid Bodies be ſaid to be overcome by Force, when we break them; and by Art, when we calcine or liquify them?

"derful,

" derful, that the Action, though simple, should " yet be exceedingly more strong. The Gravitation of Bodies is in proportion to their Quantities, their Cohesion is not so: " A small Stone or Piece " of Iron is as hard as if it were ten or a hundred " times bigger." Mr. *Baxter* adds; " There is " surely an inconceivable Art discovered to us, in " adjusting these Forces, if we would but reflect. " But this likewise is wonderful; That the one sort " of these Actions doth not interfere with, or disturb the other. The Particles of the Iron or " Stone, that have an Action directed to every " Atom in the whole Mass of Matter in the Earth, " and therefore to the very Particles in contact with " them, have yet a stronger Action directed to those " very contiguous Particles, whereby they adhere " to each other with almost an insuperable Force. " And these Actions, though in the same Direction, could not be preserved more distinct, if " these small Atoms had been even large enough to " allow Pulleys and Engines to be fixed to them, " and each of these wrought by a skilful Hand. — " Such prodigious Force, and Distinction of Degrees, can never be the *Work* of these little " Atoms!

And it may further be considered, " what Inconveniencies would follow, if Bodies were hard " in proportion to their Bulk; which would certainly be the Case, if the latter sort of Attraction were directed from every Particle to every Particle of Stone, Iron, &c. Indeed then the Stone " in the Quarry, or the Timber in the Tree, would " be impenetrable to human Industry: Or contrarily, if Bodies were soft and yielding, as they are " small, Artists could not only not give their Work " that curious Fineness, but there could be no " working in *Stone*, *Wood*, or *Metal*, without Instruments exceeding in Bulk those Materials " which

" which is as much as to say, there could be no " working in them at all. A *fine Edge* or *sharp* " *Point* would signify nothing, having the Softness " of Wax, or something more yielding. — And yet " the greatest part of Mankind little think of these " Advantages, which we solely owe to the *Cause* " which effects this Difference of Attraction in the " several Parts of Matter; as if we owed them to " *Chance*, or *Necessity*, or *Nothing*.

These Topicks are further insisted on, and the true Cause both of the Gravitation and Cohesion of Bodies investigated, in the *Fourth* CONFERENCE; to which, for Connexion-sake, I immediately proceed; taking no further Notice of the triter Subjects of the intermediate ones. Our Author thus reasons concerning the first sort of Attraction, *viz.* Gravitation; " When we consider attentively this *vast* " *Frame* of the Planets, so simple in its Order, and " yet find that this Simplicity is the Source of such " Variety, we are prompted to ask, how such a " Frame began at first to be; or by what Force " these *prodigious Bodies* are thus constantly driven " round the Sun, and detained in their Orbits? — " Some mighty Force must be necessary to put " them once in Motion; and then they stand in " need of a constant Direction, otherwise they " would every Minute leave their Orbits; since no " Body of itself can revolve about another in a free " Space. —— If we strike a Ball, or any such thing, " it goes straight forward, but never moves in a " Circle. Nor does any thing so move, except " when we drive a Stone round in a Sling; or " perhaps when some light Body is carried round " in a *Whirl* of Water; which certainly is not ap- " plicable to the Planets describing circular Orbits " in free Spaces.

If it be said we don't know, that the Spaces in which the Planets move are free: They may be full

full of a subtile Matter. It is replied, "We know "from Experience, that our Earth, for instance, "is surrounded with no such dense Matter, as could "keep it within the Limits of its Orbit; which it "must endeavour constantly to break through, by "its rapid Motion. Besides, supposing that some "such impalpable Stuff as this subtile Matter could "drive the Planets round, what must drive this "Matter round, and every Particle of it? This "increases the Difficulty. And if it should be said, "that this Matter does not move round with the "Planets, but stands still, it must, by its Resist-"ance, stop the Motion of the revolving Body, "instead of keeping it within its Orbit; which "increases the Difficulty another way. — Nor is "it to be forgot, that the Atmosphere surrounding "the Earth reaches to no great Height, and par-"takes as well of the Earth's annual as diurnal "Motion. And its annual Motion remains to be "accounted for, as much as the Earth's; since its "diurnal Motion could not be otherwise accounted "for, than the Earth's was.

"By *what Force* then, or the *Direction* of what "Cause, do the Planets thus continue to move round "the Sun in circular Orbits? A Stone put into a "Sling cannot move in any manner without *some* "*Hand*; nor could it move round in a circular "Space, if the Sling did not constantly keep it "within those Bounds; as is evident by the Stone's "immediately flying out, if we let the String go. "The String therefore, it is plain, constantly im-"presses *another Force* upon the Stone, in drawing "it still back to the Hand, as it were the *Center* "of its Motion. — The Stone then is constantly "pressed, or urged by *two contrary Forces*: By "the *one* it would incessantly fly out; this belongs "to the Stone itself: and by the *other* it is as in-"cessantly kept in; this is the Action of the String.

" —— Another Conſideration likewiſe, that con-
" firms all this, is, That if we whirl the Stone with
" a more than ordinary Velocity, it ſometimes
" happens that the String breaks; which ſhews,
" that as the circular Motion becomes ſwifter, the
" centrifugal Force becomes ſtronger; otherwiſe,
" certainly, the String would not break: And
" this Increaſe of centrifugal Force muſt require
" an equal Increaſe of contrary Force to keep the
" Stone to its Orbit.

By what has been ſaid we may be ſufficiently convinced, " That this our Earth, and every one of
" the Planets, is conſtantly urged or impelled by
" two contrary Forces; *one* which always drives
" the Planet ſtraight forward, and *another* which
" keeps it conſtantly from running out, by re-
" tracting it towards the Sun, the *Center* of its
" Motion.

Now, " Would the Earth, placed at this Di-
" ſtance from the Sun, move any way without
" *ſome Hand*; that is, without a Force impreſſed
" upon it by *ſome Cauſe*? —— Would it begin to
" move forward, or backward, upward, or down-
" ward? Certainly it could move no way, more
" than the Stone in the Sling, but would remain
" there for ever. *Some* HAND, therefore (what-
" ever that may be) impreſſes *one Force* upon the
" Earth. —— But if only one Force were impreſſed
" upon it, driving it ſtraight forward, what would
" happen? Would it keep to a circular Orbit, if
" another Force did not conſtantly draw it towards
" the Center? It could not of itſelf keep to a cir-
" cular Orbit, more than the Stone. For if no
" other Force acted, what would enſue? It would
" undoubtedly begin to leave its Orb that inſtant.
" Does not, therefore, *ſome* HAND inceſſantly
" impreſs a *ſecond Force* to prevent it? Surely there
" is an equal Neceſſity for the conſtant Impreſſion

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" of both Forces, as well in the Revolution of such " vast Bodies as our Earth, as in the ordinary Ex- " periment of the Stone and Sling. —— For can a " Body, the greater it is, require less Force to give " it any sort of Motion? Without question, it re- " quires a greater, and that in proportion to its " Magnitude. Since then a Stone twice as big " would require double Force, and one thrice as " big triple Force, and so on; how great must " that Force be, which drives round, and keeps to " a circular Motion, such a Body as the Earth, " loaded with such vast Mountains, and prodi- " gious Rocks, and flying with such Rapidity as " it does? —— No Words are sufficient to ex- " press how wonderful an Effect it is, and what " the Force must be; seeing any little Pebble, " driven round a Center, requires the constant " Action of an *external Cause*, and that acting in " two very different Manners.

Mr. *Baxter* having thus paved the Way to the Investigation of the Cause of the Retention of the Planets in their Orbs, proceeds therein, and evinces it to be no other, than " that Attraction which ob- " tains through the whole Mass of our Earth, and " belongs to every Particle of it; and which is no " less prevalent in all the other Bodies of the Uni- " verse. —— This it is that first formed and still " preserves the spherical Figure of all the Stars in " Heaven, as well as of all the Bodies in our solar " System. ——

This Attraction of Gravitation does not obtain or act only within their Surfaces, but at vast Di- stances all around them; so that there is no Space within the solar System, where Attraction to some Center does not prevail. This is evident from these Considerations; *viz.* " No Body can be so big, " since all the Parts of Matter in it attract each



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" other, †: but that many Particles muſt attract one " another at the whole Diſtance of its Diameter." If it be ſaid, Theſe extreme Particles may attract each other, by means of the intermediate Particles; it is anſwered, " Since Attraction between any two " Particles is not, properly ſpeaking, the Effect of " Matter at all, it cannot be the Effect of *intermediate Matter*: And the two Particles muſt affect " each other the ſame way, whether any other Particles lie between them, or not. At this rate " then, ſince, abſolutely ſpeaking, it is poſſible " that a Body might be ſo big as to fill the whole " ſolar Syſtem, we ſee that two Particles of Matter " muſt actually attract each other at all that Diſtance. —— Therefore Attraction not only *may*, " but *muſt* act through all that Space. If we ſuppoſe the contrary, great Diſorders muſt enſue. " If our Earth, for inſtance, came to a Place where " Attraction to no Center prevailed, it is hard to " imagine what would be the Conſequence. It is " true, it would ſtill attract Bodies to its own Center, even in ſuch a Place; but being thus deſerted, it would remain there, like a Piece of " uſeleſs Lumber: Or, if the projectile Force ſtill acted, it muſt, at leaſt, ramble out for ever through the Spaces on high.

Thus are we brought to grant, that " this Attraction of Gravitation acts indeed through the " whole Syſtem, and is that *mighty Force*, which " conſtantly impells the Earth, and all the Planets, " towards the Sun, the Center of their Motion; " and, together with the projectile Force, maintains

† It is here taken for granted, that all the Parts of Matter attract each other: That they do ſo, is proved elſewhere in this Volume. This is the Caſe with regard to ſome other Propoſitions, which in one Place appear as mere Aſſertions, but in others are clearly demonſtrated.

" their

" their Revolution." And in truth, " if there " were any Place throughout the System where " Attraction did not obtain, that would be the " Region of Disorder and Confusion. It is not " only the Preservative of particular Bodies, but " the Cement of the whole planetary World, and, " we may believe, of the whole Universe: For " Confusion and Disorder of useless and unemploy- " ed Matter can reign no where in Nature. This " likewise is that *centripetal Force*, by which our " Moon and the other secondary Planets are retain- " ed in their Orbits about their Primaries; there " being Attraction to the Centers of those *great* " *Bodies*, as well as to that of the Sun.

Hence we may perceive one Reason *why the Sun was to be so large a Body*, with respect to the rest of the Planets; because " not only his Heat and Light " were to be diffused all around, as far as the Orbit " of *Saturn*; but his attractive Force was vastly to " exceed that of all the Planets, that he might not " be drawn from the Center of the System.

Indeed, as our Author notes, if it had been otherwise, the System must be dissolved: " For if one " of the least, instead of the greatest Body, had " been placed in the Center of the System, it would " not have had Force enough to resist the Attrac- " tion of the other revolving Bodies; but must in- " stantly have gone into Disorder, and been car- " ried through the celestial Regions with endless " Confusion. It is as if we should suppose a *Mill-* " *stone* to revolve about some *little Pebble*, and not " the Pebble about the Mill-stone.

And from this View of the System it is obvious, that " it must be either Ignorance, or Obstinacy, " to contend that the Earth is in the Center, and " that such a Body as the Sun should revolve about " it. In that Case the Earth would soon be dragged " from its Place, and, together with the rest of



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" the Planets, follow him through unknown Parts,
" towards the fixed Stars. —— Which is an uni-
" verſal and concluſive Reaſon, for placing the Sun
" in the Center.

Thus our Author leads us into the Knowledge of *one* of the Forces, by which the Planets are governed in their Orbits round the Sun. But there is another, no leſs neceſſary to their Revolution, *viz.* the *projectile Force*; to the Conſideration of which he next applies.

" If, as he ſays, the *attractive Force* only pre-
" vailed in the Syſtem, the Sun would draw down
" all the Planets to himſelf, where they would re-
" main ſtrongly attracted to his Body, without any
" further Motion or Order. Which Event would
" be the final Deſtruction of both the animal and
" vegetable Nature, in the whole Syſtem; the
" Earth, and all the other Planets, being con-
" ſumed, or quite diſſipated by his raging Fire.

" Dreadful Cataſtrophe! But ſuch an Ocean of
" Fire was neceſſary, to make our planetary World
" habitable." What then was requiſite for preventing this horrible Confuſion? " It could only
" have been prevented by a MIGHTY HAND im-
" preſſing on the Planets the *other* Force, the Pro-
" jectile, to wit, by which they tend to move on
" in ſtraight Lines; that by a Compoſition of both
" Forces they might deſcribe circular Orbits round
" this Ocean of Fire and Light.

Nor would this Force impreſſed *any how*, and *at a venture*, have had that Effect. No. " The
" Quantity of it was to be juſtly attempered to the
" Sun's Attraction, that it might neither be too
" weak, nor too ſtrong; but keep the Planets al-
" ways at the ſame Diſtance. And then this juſt
" Quantity of the projectile Force was ſkilfully to
" be directed, for avoiding an equal Inconvenience.
" Had the Direction been oblique, either *from* or

" *to* the Sun, the Planets could not have moved in " circular Orbits: Some of them might have " afcended without the Limits of the Syſtem, and " others been carried down towards the Sun in the " Center.

From all this it is evident, that *Art* and *Skill* were to be employed in this Affair; and that doing this at a venture might have miſſed of the Effect; " or rather, it is impoſſible that doing Things at " a venture could have reached the Effect, as there " is but one Way of hitting the Mark, and ten " thouſand different Ways of miſſing it: and that " whether we conſider the adjuſting the Projectile " to the attractive Force in any one Body, or giv- " ing it the proper Direction when adjuſted. And " much greater is the Difficulty, if we take into " the Conſideration all the Bodies of the Syſtem. " For, as the Sun's attractive Force on every one " of the Planets is different, ſo the projectile Force " was to be different in each of them; and the " ſame attempering the two different Forces, with " the Propriety of Direction, was no leſs neceſſary " in the Motions of the ſecondary Planets. ——— " Now conſidering theſe two Forces *conſtantly* im- " preſſed, and alſo the Attraction of Coheſion, we " may be thoroughly convinced that theſe are not " the Actions of Matter itſelf. For,

" A Particle of Matter cannot act ten thouſand " different Ways at once, and at immenſe Diſtan- " ces. Nothing can act where it is not. This may " ſatisfy us as to the Action of Gravitation, that it " is not the Action of Matter. As to Coheſion, if " there were nothing to be overcome but the Inac- " tivity or Inertia of Matter, that Force which " moves and overcomes the Reſiſtance of the whole " Body, muſt certainly overcome the Reſiſtance of " a ſmall Particle of it, or ſeparate that from the " reſt, which yet conſtant Experience ſhews to be



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otherwise. Though this Attraction is only between contiguous Particles, and does not reach to distant Parts, since a large Bar of Iron is not more firm and hard than a smaller Piece, yet we " can by no Effort separate those least Parts, nor " counter-act that Force wherewith they adhere to " each other. Hence it is manifest, that this can " less be the Effect of those little Particles, than " Gravitation itself.

" From all this it must be allowed, that these " Actions proceed from the Power of an IMMATE- " RIAL CAUSE. If any thing be not effected by " Matter, it must be effected by something *not* " *Matter*. All the Power therefore, which we see " exerted in the material Universe, must proceed " from an *immaterial Cause*. The Connexion be- " tween this Proposition and the last is so strong, " that they seem but one and the same thing. If " Matter can do nothing, all material Nature must " constantly be influenced, and acted upon by *this* " *Cause*. *This Cause* likewise must not only be " possessed of all the Power we find exerted in the " material World, but also be *knowing* and *skilful*. " A Cause, which works with Intelligence and " Skill, must be a *knowing* and *skilful Cause*. It is " now become plain that this Cause, which exerts " its Power, not by Starts, and in some Places, " but always, and every where, and whose Effects " are *incessantly* produced through all Nature, is no " other than the *all-powerful* and *infinitely perfect* " *Being*.

Thus our Author has, by the Phænomena of *Gravitation* and *Cohesion*, led us up to the supreme Cause of all things. His next Business is, from the Principles that have been established, to deduce the several Attributes of this transcendent Being; and therein he employs the Sequel of this Conference. What he has said upon these Heads, though it might

might very well entertain the Reader, would carry me beyond my Limits; and the foregoing Citations are enough to answer my Intention of giving a Notion of Mr. *Baxter*'s Reasoning and Style in this Volume.

## ARTICLE XVII.

### *Continuation of* M. ROLLIN's *History of the Arts and Sciences.*

WE have already given Epitomies of our Author's Account of the *Greek* and *Latin* Poetry and Poets, History and Historians. We are now to exhibit an Abstract of what he has drawn up concerning the ancient Orators.

His Introduction is an Encomium upon Eloquence, which of all Parts of polite Learning he judges to have the most Beauty, Solidity, Greatness, and Splendor; and to be of the most extensive Use. One Consideration he insists on, which enhances the Value of it, and that is, The amazing Scarcity of good Orators in all Ages.

There are, he tells us, three sorts of Style; the great or sublime, the common or simple, and the mediate or florid. On these he severally descants: but I don't know if I should make the Reader any thing the wiser, by reciting what he has said of them. It is his Memoirs of the ancient *Literati* that we chiefly value; his Reflections have rarely any thing in them above the common Pitch of Writers, or worth taking notice of in our Abridgment.

The *Greek* Orators are those he first speaks of. *Greece*, so fertile of all the other Arts, was for a long time barren in respect to Eloquence; and, before

before *Pericles*, may in some measure be said to have only spoke like an Infant. But in him it all of a sudden blazed forth, and seemed to have attained at once the utmost Height of Perfection. Before him there was no Work or Discourse in which any Trace of Beauty or Ornament appeared, or which expressed the Orator; and yet his Harangues displayed even then whatever is finest, most vigorous, and most sublime in Oratory.

"As his View was to render himself powerful in "the Republick, and to sway in the Assemblies "of the People, he considered Eloquence as the "most necessary Means for the Attainment of "those Ends, and devoted himself wholly to it. "The natural Excellency of his Genius supplied "him with whatever was wanting for his Success, "and the great Application he had before made to "Philosophy under *Anaxagoras*, had taught him "by what Springs the human Heart was to be "moved and actuated at Will. He employed "with wonderful Art sometimes the Charms of "Insinuation to persuade, and sometimes the Force "of vehement Passions to oppose and subdue. "*Athens*, who saw a new Light shine out in her "Bosom, charmed with the Graces and Sublimity "of his Discourse, admired and feared his Elo-"quence!

"By this extraordinary Talent of Speaking, *Pe-"ricles* retained during forty Years, as well in War "as Peace, an entire Authority over the most in-"constant and capricious, and at the same time the "most jealous People in the World of their Li-"berty.

Though he left no Piece of Eloquence behind "him, he however deserves to be ranked at the "Head of the *Greek* Orators; and the more, ac-"cording to *Cicero*, because it was he who first "taught *Athens* a Taste for sound and perfect

"Eloquence,

" Eloquence, placed it in Honour, ſhewed its true " Uſe and Deſtination, and made its ſalutary Ef- " fects evident by the Succeſs which attended his " Harangues.

M. *Rollin* next ſpeaks of the ten *Athenian* Orators, of whoſe Lives *Plutarch* has given a Sketch, enlarging on thoſe only who were moſt famous. The Names of theſe are, ANTIPHON, ANDOCIDES, LYSIAS, ISOCRATES, ISÆUS, LYCURGUS, ÆSCHINES, DEMOSTHENES, HYPERIDES, DINARCHUS; to theſe M. *Rollin* adds DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

ANTIPHON improved himſelf very much in his Converſations with *Socrates*. He taught Rhetoric; he alſo compoſed Pleadings for ſuch as had Occaſion for them, and is believed to be the firſt that introduced that Cuſtom. His Invention was warm and abundant, his Style exact, his Proofs ſtrong; and he had a great Felicity in anſwering unforeſeen Objections. He was no leſs ſucceſsful in moving the Paſſions, and in giving the Perſons he introduced ſpeaking their juſt and peculiar Characters.

ANDOCIDES was alſo the Cotemporary of *Socrates*. He began to flouriſh twenty Years before *Lyſias*. His Style was ſimple, and almoſt entirely void of Figures and Ornaments.

LYSIAS was by Origin of *Syracuſe*, but born at *Athens*. At fifteen Years of Age he went to *Thurium* in *Italy*, with two of his Brothers in the new Colony ſent thither to ſettle. He continued there till the Defeat of the *Athenians* before *Syracuſe*, and returned to *Athens* in the forty-third Year of his Age.

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his peculiar Merit, and was always conſidered as one of the moſt excellent of the *Greek* Orators, but in the ſimple and tranquil Species of Eloquence. Perſpicuity, Purity, Sweetneſs and Delicacy of Style, were his particular

particular Attributes. M. *Rollin* has set down *Cicero*'s and *Quintilian*'s Opinions of him; which are much the same as his own. *Lysias* did not plead at the Bar himself, but composed Pleadings for others; and to suit their Character, and not betray the Secret of his being so employed, he was often obliged to use a simple Style with little or no Elevation: It was therefore necessary that his Discourses, which he did not pronounce himself, should have a natural and negligent Air, that requires great Art, and is one of the most refined Secrets of Composition. In this manner the Law for accused Persons to plead their own Causes without the Help of Advocates was eluded.

When *Socrates* was summoned to answer for his Opinions concerning Religion, *Lysias* brought him a Speech, which he had composed with abundance of Care, and in which he had undoubtedly introduced whatever was capable of moving the Judges. *Socrates*, after reading it, told him, that he thought it very fine and oratorical, but not consistent with the Resolution and Fortitude that became a Philosopher.

M. *Rollin* ends what he says of *Lysias* with the Commendation *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* has given of him.

ISOCRATES was the Son of *Theodorus* the *Athenian*, who, having enriched himself by making musical Instruments, was in a Condition to give him a good Education. He came into the World about the eighty-sixth Olympiad, two and twenty Years after *Lysias*, and seven before *Plato*.

He had an excellent Education under *Prodicus*, *Gorgias*, *Tysias*, and according to some, *Theramenes*; that is to say, all the most famous Rhetoricians of those Times.

His Inclination would have led him to follow the usual Course of the young *Athenians*, and to have shared

ſhared in publick Affairs: But the Weakneſs of his Voice, and his almoſt unſurmountable Timidity, not permitting him to venture appearing in publick, he directed his Views a different way. He did not however entirely renounce either the Glory of Eloquence, or the Deſire of rendering himſelf uſeful to the Public, which were his ruling Paſſions; and what the natural Impediment of his Voice denied him, he conceived Thoughts of attaining by the Help of his Induſtry and Pen. Accordingly he applied himſelf diligently to Compoſition; and did not, like the generality of the Sophiſts, make chimerical and uſeleſs Queſtions, or Subjects of mere Curioſity, the Objects of his Application, but ſolid and important Topicks of Government, which might be of Uſe to States, and even Princes, as well as private Perſons, and at the ſame time an Honour to himſelf, by the Graces he ſhould endeavour to diffuſe throughout his Writings.

He exerciſed himſelf alſo in compoſing Pleadings for ſuch as had occaſion for them, according to the Cuſtom general enough in thoſe Times, though contrary to the Laws; as obſerved in the Article of *Lyſias*. But as theſe Pleadings drew Trouble upon himſelf, in conſequence of the Violation of the Law, and obliged him to appear often before the Judges; he renounced them intirely, and opened a School for the Inſtruction of Youth in Eloquence.

By this new Application, the Houſe of *Iſocrates* became, in reſpect to *Greece* in general, a fruitful Nurſery of Great Men; and, like the *Trojan* Horſe, none came out of it but illuſtrious Perſons. Though he did not appear in publick at the Bar, and confined himſelf within the Walls of his School or Study, he acquired a Reputation to which none after him could attain, and was equally eſteemed for the Excellence of his Compoſitions, and his Art

of

of Teaching; as his Writings and Pupils sufficiently proved.

He had a wonderful Capacity in discerning the Force, Genius, and Character of his Scholars, and in knowing how to exercise and direct their Talents. His School was of great Use to the Publick, and at the same time of great Gain to himself. He had generally more than an hundred Scholars at five hundred Drachmas (about twenty five Pound) each; in all probability for the whole Time of their studying under him. Besides his Income from his School, he received great Presents from considerable Persons. *Nicocles*, King of *Cyprus*, gave him twenty Talents (about five thousand Pounds) for the Discourse inscribed with his Name.

Upon the News of the Defeat of the *Athenians* by *Philip* at the Battle of *Chæronea*, he could not survive the Misfortune of his Country, and died of Grief, after having continued four Days without eating. He was then fourscore and eighteen, or an hundred Years old.

Our Author says, it is hard to describe the Style of *Isocrates* better than *Cicero* and *Quintilian* have done it: Accordingly he cites their Words; but it is needless to recite them here, after what has been said upon that Head.

There is one Quality of *Isocrates* which M. *Rollin* particularly applauds; *viz.* his Love of Virtue and Goodness in general, which infinitely exalts him above all other Orators. His principal Discourses have no other Tendency but to inspire States, Princes, and even private Persons, with Sentiments of Probity, Honour, Fidelity, Moderation, Justice, Love of the Publick Good, Zeal for the Preservation of Liberty, and Respect for the Sanctity of Oaths, the Faith of Treaties, and for all that relates in any manner to Religion.

ISÆUS

Isæus was of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. He went to *Athens*, and was the Pupil of *Lysias*, whom he perfectly resembled in Style. He was *Demosthenes*'s Master, who gave him the Preference to *Isocrates*. He began to appear with Splendor after the *Peloponnesian* War, and lived to the Time of *Philip*.

Lycurgus was highly esteemed at *Athens* for his Eloquence, and still more for his Probity. The Civil Government of that City was confided to his Care; during which he made so severe a War upon Malefactors, that he obliged them all to quit it. He was appointed three several times Receiver-General of the Revenues of the Commonwealth, and exercised that Function during fifteen Years. In that Time 14,000 Talents (about 2,000,000*l.* Sterling) passed through his Hands, of which he gave an exact Account. He greatly augmented the Income of the City. While he was in this Post, seeing one of the Farmers of the Customs carrying the Philosopher *Xenocrates* to Prison, because he had not paid a certain Tribute as a Stranger at the Time, he took him from the Officers, and made them carry the Farmer there in his stead, for having had the Insolence and Cruelty to treat a Man of Learning in that manner. He was one of the Orators demanded by *Alexander* of the *Athenians*, to which they refused to consent.

Of Æschines and Demosthenes, those two famous Rivals, M. *Rollin* has said so much elsewhere, that he takes very little Notice of them here, contenting himself with citing *Quintilian*'s Judgment of the latter.

Hyperides had been at first the Hearer and Disciple of *Plato*. He afterwards applied himself to the Bar; where his Eloquence was admired. His Style had abundance of Sweetness and Delicacy. He was joined with *Lycurgus* in the publick Administration when *Alexander* attacked the *Greeks*, and always

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always declared openly againſt that Prince. After the Loſs of the Battle of *Cranon*, the *Athenians*, being upon the point of delivering him up to *Antipater*, he fled to *Ægina*, and from thence took Refuge in a Temple of *Neptune*; from whence he was taken by Force, and carried to *Antipater* at *Corinth*, who put him to the moſt cruel Tortures, in order to draw from him ſome Secrets he wanted to know. But, leſt the Violence of the Pain ſhould force him to betray his Friends and Country, he bit off his Tongue, and expired under the Hands of the Tormentors.

DINARCHUS is ſaid to have been a Native of *Corinth*, and came to ſettle at *Athens* when *Alexander* was purſuing his Conqueſts in *Aſia*. He was the Diſciple of *Theophraſtus*, who had ſucceeded *Ariſtotle* in his School. He did not plead himſelf, but compoſed Pleadings for thoſe who had Occaſion for them. His Style was animated and vehement.

The Time in which the above-mentioned Orators flouriſhed was the Golden Age of Eloquence among the *Greeks*, and included about an hundred and thirty Years. Before *Pericles*, *Greece* had produced abundance of Great Men for Government, Policy, and War; beſides Numbers of excellent Philoſophers: but Oratory was very little known there. It was he who firſt introduced and recommended it to that People: However, it was far from becoming general. It almoſt confined itſelf to *Athens*; which City, in the Interval here ſpoken of, produced the great Number of Orators, whoſe ſhining Merit has rendered its Reputation immortal. So long as *Greece* propoſed theſe to herſelf as Models, ſhe excelled in a ſolid, maſculine Elocution. But after their Deaths, when ſhe began inſenſibly to loſe ſight of them, and to tread in different Tracks, an Eloquence of a new kind, more glittering and embelliſhed, ſucceeded the former, and ſoon made it diſappear:

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all appear. DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS occasioned this Revolution, of whom M. *Rollin* next speaks.

He was surnamed *Phalereus* from *Phalera*, one of the Ports of *Athens*, where he was born. The celebrated *Theophrastus* was his Master. M. *Rollin* declines repeating his History in this Place, because he has related it at large in the VIIth Volume of his *Antient History*. He considers him here only in Quality of an Orator, and shews in what manner he contributed to the Decline of true Oratory at *Athens*. All that he has said upon this Head amounts, I think, to no more than this; that *Demetrius*, having acquired under his Preceptor *Theophrastus* a florid and elegant Style, abounding with Ornaments, sweet and agreeable, but void of Force and Energy, employed it on all Occasions of addressing the Populace, and so brought it into Fashion; upon which a Declension of the nobler Oratory of *Pericles*, and the others aforenamed, ensued.

The Ruin of Liberty at *Athens* partly contributed, as our Author observes, to hasten that of Eloquence. The Great Men, who had done it so much Honour by the Talent of Speaking, appeared there no more. Only some Rhetoricians and Sophists, dispersed in the several Parts of *Greece* and *Asia*, supported in some small degree its ancient Reputation.

Some Ages after, M. *Rollin* would have us believe, Eloquence resumed new Force, and appeared again, with almost as much Splendor as of old at *Athens*, in the Writings of St. *Basil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Chrysostom*, and some other of the *Greek* Fathers. The last in particular he is not afraid to compare with *Demosthenes*, either for Beauty of Style, Solidity of Argument, Greatness of Matter, or Force and Vehemence of Passions.

We proceed now to the *Latin* Orators, the Account of whom follows that of the *Greeks*.

*Rome* had no Taſte of Eloquence till after ſhe had ſubjected the moſt powerful Nations, and eſtabliſhed herſelf in Peace and Tranquillity; when her Commerce with the *Greeks* began to reform her Groſſneſs and Barbarity in regard to the Exerciſes of the Mind. 'Twas then the *Roman* Youth, who ſeemed to awake out of a profound Sleep, became ſenſible to a new Species of Glory, different from that of martial Exerciſes (to which till that Period they were wholly devoted) and altogether unknown to their Anceſtors.

In order to give ſome Idea of the Beginning, Progreſs, Perfection, and Decline of this Art, our Author divides the *Roman* Orators into four Ages; but expatiates upon ſuch of them only as are moſt known either by their Works or Reputation.

After a general View of the primitive State of Eloquence at *Rome*, he enters on the Characters of the firſt Set of Orators: Theſe were CATO the Cenſor, the GRACCHI, SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS, and LÆLIUS. All theſe, he ſays, had excellent natural Parts, a wonderful Fund of Wit, great Order in their Diſcourſe, Force in their Proofs, Solidity in their Thoughts, and Energy: But neither Art, Delicacy, Grace, Care in the Arrangement of Words, nor Knowledge of the Harmony of Speech. Of each of theſe famous Perſonages he ſpeaks afterwards in particular, throwing together what *Cicero* and other Ancients have delivered concerning them. I will here tranſcribe a few Paſſages of what he has collected.

CATO had compoſed an infinite Number of Orations; more than an hundred and fifty of them were extant in *Cicero*'s Time: but they were not read. His Eloquence wants only thoſe lively Figures, and glowing Colours, that were not yet known in his Time.

The

The GRACCHI distinguished themselves likewise by an Eloquence manly and vigorous, but void of Ornaments. *C. Gracchus* had always a Slave behind him with a Flute, to give notice when to raise or lower his Voice.

M. *Rollin* says nothing more of the Eloquence of SCIPIO and LÆLIUS than this; that he assures himself, though it savoured of the Age they lived in, it was far from the Roughness of *Cato*'s and that of the *Gracchi*. But he relates a Fact highly to the Honour of *Lælius*, and which shews how far he carried his Candour and Integrity. "He had taken upon "him the Care of a very important Cause, and "pleaded it with abundance of Eloquence. The "Judges however did not think his Arguments "conclusive; and referred the Matter to another "Hearing. *Lælius* laboured it anew, and pleaded "it a second time, but with the same Success as "before. Upon which, without further Delay, he "obliged his Clients to put their Cause into the "Hands of *Galba*, a famous Orator of those Times, "who was more vehement and pathetick than him. "It was not without great Difficulty that *Galba* was "prevailed upon to undertake it; however, he "carried it unanimously by his first Pleading.

We come now to the second Age of the *Roman* Oratory. In this Age M. *Rollin* places ANTHONY and CRASSUS, more advanced in Years; and COTTA and SULPITIUS, younger Men. They are hardly known by any thing, he tells us, but what *Cicero* has left us concerning them in his Books of Rhetoric. He observes, it was under the two first, that the *Roman* Eloquence began to cope with that of the *Greeks*.

ANTHONY, in his Voyage to *Cilicia*, whither he went Proconsul, stopped for some time at *Athens* and in the Isle of *Rhodes*, upon different Pretexts; but in reality, M. *Rollin* says, for the Opportunity



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of conversing with the most able Rhetoricians, and in order to improve himself in Eloquence by their Instructions. He however always affected from thenceforth to appear ignorant of what the *Greeks* taught in respect to the Art of Speaking, with the View of rendering his Eloquence thereby the less suspected. And accordingly he was generally supposed by his Hearers to come to the Bar, and to plead his Causes, almost without Preparation. But in reality he was so well prepared, that the Judges were often not enough so in their Distrust of him. Nothing for the Success of his Cause escaped him. He knew how to dispose every Proof in the Place where it made most Impression. He was less attentive to the Delicacy of his Terms, than to their Force and Energy. *He seemed to regard only Things in themselves, and right Reason.* In a Word, he had all the great Qualities of an Orator, and supported them wonderfully by the Force and Dignity of his Utterance.

CRASSUS, M. *Rollin* says, was the only Speaker that could be ranked with *Anthony*; and some have even preferred him. His peculiar Character was an Air of Gravity and Dignity, which he knew how to temper with an insinuating Politeness, and even refined Pleasantry and Raillery, that was however always governed by the Rules of Decency. His Language was correct and elegant, but easy and void of Affectation. He explained himself with wonderful Clearness, and exalted the Beauty of his Discourse by the Strength of his Proofs, and by his agreeable Allusions and Similitudes.

When *Crassus* had to do with Persons of Merit and Reputation, he took care to proceed with Tenderness and Reserve, and employed no Raillery in respect to them that could offend. But he behaved differently in regard to such as gave Room for it

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by their bad Conduct. Our Author has enlarged on a ſingular Inſtance of this.

To his other rare Talents may be added his great Knowledge of the Civil Law; in which however at the ſame time *Scævola* far exceeded him. They were both, as M. *Rollin* tells us, almoſt of the ſame Age, had paſſed through the ſame Dignities, and applied themſelves to the ſame Functions and Studies. They were ſo far from being jealous of each other's admirable Qualities, that there ſubſiſted between them a perpetual Harmony and Friendſhip.

Our Author is more brief in his Accounts of COTTA and SULPITIUS, Cotemporaries with the above-named, and who made a ſhining Figure at the Bar. The Character of their Eloquence was quite different.

COTTA's Invention was acute and penetrating, his Elocution pure and flowing. As the Weakneſs of his Lungs obliged him to avoid all violent Exertions of Voice, he took care to adapt his Style and Manner of Compoſing to the Infirmity of his Organs. Every thing in it was juſt, neat, and ſtrong; and he had the Addreſs ſo to order his Pleadings, as to influence the Judges no leſs by his calm and compoſed Manner, than *Sulpitius* was able to do by his ardent and animated Elocution.

SULPITIUS's Diction, on the contrary, was lofty, vehement, and grand enough for the ancient *Tragedy*. His Voice was ſtrong, ſweet, and clear; his Geſture extremely graceful and agreeable. His Diſcourſe was rapid and copious, but without any vicious Superfluity.

The third Age of the *Roman* Orators was the Golden Age of the *Roman* Eloquence: Its Duration was ſhort; but it ſhone out with extraordinary Luſtre, and almoſt equalled *Rome* with *Athens*. It was in this Period that HORTENSIUS, CÆSAR, BRUTUS, MESSALA, and divers others, acquired an



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immortal Reputation, though their Orations are not come down to us. But CICERO obscures the Glory of all the rest, and may be considered as the most perfect Model of the *Roman* Eloquence that ever appeared in the World. M. *Rollin* having elsewhere expatiated largely upon this illustrious Subject, there remains little to be said here of it; of that little I shall select and lay together three or four Passages.

This prodigious Man was indebted to Nature for a happy Genius, which was cultivated under the Direction of *Crassus*, who laid down the Plan of his Studies. He had the ablest Masters of those Times in *Rome*; and went afterwards into *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, to learn the Precepts of Oratory at their Source. He was convinced, that the Talent of Speaking could only be acquired by a vast Extent of Erudition. Accordingly, persuaded that without the most assiduous Application, nothing great could be attained, he devoted himself wholly to Reading. The Fruits of it soon appeared, and from his first shewing himself at the Bar, he was distinguished by universal Applause. He had a fertile, warm, and shining Wit; a rich and lively Imagination, and in his first Pleadings a polished, florid, abundant, and luxuriant Style: which last Quality is no Fault in a young Orator; but as it would have been culpable in his more advanced Years, so, after going to *Athens*, and into *Asia Minor*, where, as celebrated as he was for Pleading, he became the Disciple of the learned Rhetoricians who taught there, he returned to *Rome* almost intirely changed, as to that Circumstance, from what he was when he left it. *Molo* the *Rhodian* in particular was of great Use to him, in teaching him to retrench the Superfluity and Redundance that proceeded from the Warmth and Vivacity of his Youth, in accustoming him to a less diffused Style,

Style, and to give his Discourse more Weight and Maturity.

The Emulation excited in him by the great Success of his Friend, but Rival, *Hortensius*, was of infinite Service to him. He seems from thenceforth to have formed the Design of carrying from *Greece*, or at least of disputing with her, the Glory of Eloquence. He exercised himself in every Branch of it courageously, without neglecting any. The simple, the florid, and the sublime Styles became equally familiar to him. No body knew the Heart of Man better than he, nor succeeded better in moving the Springs of it, in which way soever he attempted it. Finally, no Orator ever excelled him in the Disposition of Words, which conduces infinitely to the Beauty of Discourse.

We are now arrived at the fourth and last Age of the *Roman* Orators: The sad Period of its Declension, which commenced shortly after the Death of *Augustus*. SENECA was the Person who brought on this *Catastrophe*: A Man in other Respects of a fine Genius, rare Talents, and the most excellent Sentiments. A too great Esteem for himself, a kind of Jealousy of the great Men who had appeared before him, a violent Desire of distinguishing himself, and being followed by others, caused him to quit the usual Track, and throw himself into Paths that were new and unknown to his Predecessors in Oratory.

The Graces with which *Cicero* had embellished the *Roman* Eloquence, were soberly and judiciously dispensed: but *Seneca* lavished them without Discretion or Measure. No ancient Author has either so many, so fine, or so solid Thoughts as he: But he spoils them by the Antitheses and Quibbles with which they are usually larded, by an excessive Affectation of ending almost every Period with an epi-

grammatic Points or fine glittering Thoughts of that nature.

PLINY *the Younger* is at the Head of those who are recorded with Honour in this Iron Age of Oratory. M. *Rollin* traces a Plan of his Life from his own Letters, in which, he says, we may discover all the Qualities of the Man of Honour and Probity that can possibly be imagined. He then endeavours to give an Idea of his Style, by divers Extracts from his Panegyric upon *Trajan*, which is the only Piece of his Eloquence come down to us. I will just touch upon the Incidents of his Life.

He was born at *Como*, a City of *Italy*. His Mother was *Pliny* the Naturalist's Sister, who adopted him for his Son. Having lost his Father very early, *Virginius Rufus*, one of the greatest Persons of his Age, was his Guardian; who always considered him as his own Son, and took particular Care of him. He was no less happy in Masters, than he had been in a Guardian. He studied Rhetorick under *Quintilian*, and was the Pupil who did him the most Honour, and also expressed the most Gratitude toward him. At the Age of fourteen he composed a *Greek* Tragedy. He exercised himself afterwards in every Species of Poetry, which he made his Amusement. He was sent into *Syria*, where he served for some Years at the Head of a Legion. All the Leisure his Duty afforded him there, he devoted to the Lectures and Conversation of *Euphrates*, a famous Philosopher. On his Return to *Rome*, he attached himself more closely than ever to *Pliny* the Naturalist, who had adopted him, and in whom he had the good Fortune to find a Father, Master, Model, and excellent Guide. He collected his slightest Discourses, and studied all his Actions.

After

After the Death of this Great Man, destitute of the Support he had found in him, he sought no other than that of his own Merit, and applied himself wholly to publick Affairs. He pleaded his first Cause at nineteen Years of Age. Young as he was, he spoke before the *Centumviri* in a Matter, wherein he was under a Necessity of contending with all the Persons of the highest Credit in *Rome*, without excepting those whom the Emperor honoured with his Favour. It was this Action that first made him known, and opened the Way for that vast Reputation which he afterwards acquired.

He sometimes spoke seven Hours, when himself was the only Person tired in the Assembly. He never pleaded but for the publick Interests, his Friends, or those whose ill Fortune had left them none. He made it a Pleasure, and even a Duty, to assist with his Advice, and to introduce young Persons of Family and Hopes at the Bar. He would not undertake some Causes, but upon Condition of having a young Advocate joined with him. It was the highest Joy to him to see them begin to distinguish themselves in pleading, by treading in his Steps, and following his Counsels.

It was by these Methods that *Pliny* soon rose to the highest Dignities of the State. He always retained the Virtues in them, by which they were acquired. In the Time of *Domitian* he was Prætor.

M. *Rollin* enlarges on several other Instances of his Conduct, which redound highly to his Honour; but which I must not stay to insist on.

It appears that *Pliny* was in a manner the Refuge and Asylum of the oppressed Provinces. The Deputies from *Boetica* implored the Senate to appoint him to be their Advocate in the Suit they had commenced against *Cæcilius Classicus*, late Governor of that Province. Our Author has set down the Topics on which he expatiated in the Prosecution of that

that Plunderer and his vile Instruments; and told us the Issue of his Pleadings against them.

His Zeal against these Villains, and in all Causes with which he was entrusted concerning the publick Interest, was soon rewarded in a conspicuous Manner. He was actually made Præfect of the Treasury, or High-Treasurer, with *Cornutus Tertullus*; which Office he held two Years; when they were both nominated Consuls for the Year following. *Trajan* spoke in the Senate to have this Honour conferred on them, presided in the Assembly of the People at their Nomination, and proclaimed them himself.

It was when he was invested with this Dignity, that he pronounced, in his own and his Collegue's Name, an Oration to thank *Trajan* for having conferred it upon them, and to make his Panegyric; according to the Order he had received from the Senate, and in the Name of the whole Empire.

About the End of the Year of our Lord 103, he was sent to govern *Pontus* and *Bithynia* in Quality of Proconsul. His sole Employment there was to establish good Order in his Government, to execute Justice, to redress Grievances, and soften Subjection. A noble Simplicity, a perpetual Easiness of Access, an Affability that sweetened necessary Refusals, with an uniform Moderation in his whole Behaviour, conciliated the Affection of every body.

It was while he commanded in this Province, that he wrote that famous Letter to *Trajan* relating to the *Christians*, which almost every Reader has seen or heard of. M. *Rollin* has inserted both the Epistle itself and *Trajan*'s Answer to it. On which last he has made some Reflections.

On *Pliny*'s Return to *Rome*, he resumed Business and his Employments. His first Wife being dead without Children, he married a second, named *Calpburnia*.

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*Calphurnia*. Our Author has given us a most charming Idea of this Lady, in respect of her conjugal Affection to her Husband, and the Accomplishments of her Mind.

Neither the Time nor Circumstances of *Pliny*'s Death are known.

M. *Rollin* does not end here. He tells us, he has not pretended hitherto to give an exact and continued Account of *Pliny*'s Actions, but only an Idea of his Character by some Events more remarkable than others, and consequently the most proper for making it known. With the same View he adds some other Facts, without confining himself to the Order of Time; and reduces them under these Heads: I. *Pliny*'s *Application to Study*. II. *His Esteem for Persons of Virtue and Learning*. III. *His Liberality*. IV. *His innocent Pleasures*. V. *His Ardour for Glory*. M. *Rollin* joins together a Number of Passages relating to these Topics, extracted from *Pliny*'s Epistles. By all which we see, that this celebrated Orator was indefatigable in his Studies, that they were his whole Consolation, that he was highly delighted with reading *Livy*, that he admired the Ancients, without despising the Moderns. That all the most distinguished Persons of the Age were his Friends. That he had a nobler and more liberal Soul than many of the greatest Fortune at *Rome*: he made a very generous Present to *Quintilian* his Master, towards the Portion of his Daughter on her Marriage; he assisted *Martial* when he retired from *Rome*; he gave his Nurse a small Estate, worth about six hundred Pounds *Sterling*. M. *Rollin* asks, What great Lords of modern Date act in this manner? *Pliny*, however, calls this last Bounty to his Nurse, a little Present; and after bestowing it upon her, we find him make her Income from it his Concern. He writes to the Person who had the Care of it, to recommend the Improvement of it to him:

"For,

"For, adds he, she who received this little Farm, "has not more Interest in its Produce than I who "gave it her." There are other yet grander Instances of his Generosity, which our Author produces, but which here is no Room for mentioning.

By M. *Rollin*'s Quotations we find likewise, that *Pliny*'s Disposition was not rigid and austere, but extremely gay and facetious; that he was glad to see his Friends at his Table, and often gave and accepted Entertainments; but such of which Temperance, Conversation, and Reading made the principal Part: That he never thought he truly enjoyed Life, but when he could steal from the Town to one of his Country-seats, of which he had several; and that his Orchards, his Kitchen and other Gardens, his Buildings, and especially those that were in a manner the Work of his own Hands, afforded him the utmost Joy and Satisfaction.

By those Citations that relate to *Pliny*'s Ardour for Reputation it is plain, as M. *Rollin* notes, that Glory was the Soul of all his Virtues. His Application, Leisure, Diversions, Studies, all tended that way. It was a Maxim with him, that the only Ambition which suited an honest Man, was either *to do Things worthy of being wrote*, or *to write Things worthy of being read*. He did not deny, that the Love of Glory was his darling Passion; and indeed it is most evident from divers Instances which our Author has produced.

M. *Rollin* says, he is apprehensive, that he will be thought to have expatiated too far upon *Pliny*'s private Character; and that the Reader will think the Extracts he has made from his Letters too long and abundant. He owns they may have Reason for this: But he pleads nobly for his Excuse, that "these Characters of Integrity, Probity, Generosity, Love of the Publick, which, to the Misfortune of our Age, are become so rare, transport

" port him out of himself, ravish his Admiration, " and render him incapable of abridging his De- " scriptions of them.

M. *Rollin* has remarked concerning that Ambition of *Pliny*'s, which was the reigning Passion of his Soul, and influenced all his Views and Actions; that although it did not dishonour him in the Eye of the World, it was a Crime in the Sight of the supreme Judge. All the illustrious Writers of the Pagans were infected with it, and solely engrossed by the Desire and Care of transmitting their Names to future Ages, by Writings, which they were in hopes would endure for ever, and obtain them a kind of Immortality, which they were foolish enough to content themselves with. But, as he adds, " could any thing be more precarious and frivolous " than this Hope? Could not Time, which has " abolished the greatest part of the Works of those " vain Men, have also abolished the little that re- " mains of them? To what are they indebted for " the Fragments of them that have escaped the " general Shipwreck? —— Had it not been for " the Studies kept up by the Christian Church, " would not Barbarism have annihilated their Works " and Names throughout the Universe? How " vain, how trifling then is the Felicity upon " which they relied, and to which they wholly de- " voted themselves!

The Passages which M. *Rollin* has cited from the Panegyric upon *Trajan* are cantoned under certain Titles. First, we have the general Praise of that Emperor. Secondly, his Conduct towards the Army is applauded. Thirdly, the Manner of his Return and Entrance into *Rome*, after his being declared Emperor, is set forth. Fourthly, the vast Influence of a Prince's Example is evinced. Fifthly, it is shewn, that Virtue, not Statues, does Honour to Princes; and that the Prince's Happiness is in-

separable

separable from that of the People. Sixthly, the admirable Union between the Wife and Sister of *Trajan*, is celebrated. Seventhly, *Trajan* is shewn to have a Relish of the Joys of Friendship. Eighthly, it is observed how shamefully the preceding bad Princes were governed by their own Freed-men. Lastly, *Pliny* points out the Road to true Greatness; which he makes to consist in condescending to Inferiors, and being as beneficent as possible.

M. *Rollin* closes what he has to say of *Pliny* with a Judgment on his Style. This Great Man's Panegyric has, he says, always passed for his Master-piece, and even in his own Time, when many of his Orations which had acquired him a great Reputation at the Bar, were extant. His Wit shines out every where in this Discourse, but his Heart is still more evident in it; and all know, our Author says, that true Eloquence flows from the Heart. When he spoke his Panegyric, it was not so long as it is at present. It was not till after the first Essay, that, like an able Painter, he added new Strokes of Art to the Portrait of his Hero; but all taken from the Life, and which, far from altering the Likeness and Truth, only rendered them stronger and more sensible.

The Style of it, M. *Rollin* says, is elegant, florid, and luminous. The Thoughts are fine, solid, very numerous, and often seem intirely new. The Diction, though generally simple enough, has nothing low, or that does not suit the Subject, and support its Dignity. The Descriptions are lively, natural, circumstantial, and full of happy Images, which set the Object before the Eyes, and render it sensible. The whole Piece abounds with Maxims and Sentiments truly worthy of the Prince it praises.

As

As fine and elegant as this Discourse is, it cannot however, our Author thinks, be pronounced of the sublime kind. There are not in it those warm and emphatical Expressions, noble and sublime Thoughts, bold and affecting Turns and Sallies, and Figures full of Vivacity and Fire, which abound in *Cicero*, and which surprise, astonish, and transport the Soul out of itself. Its Eloquence resembles a clear and agreeable Stream, which flows gently under the Shade of the Trees that adorn its Banks. A kind of Monotony prevails throughout his whole Panegyric, which makes it not easy to bear the reading of it to the end: whereas *Cicero*'s longest Oration seems the finest, and gives the most Pleasure. To this M. *Rollin* adds, That *Pliny*'s Style savours a little of the Taste for Antitheses, Abruptness of Thought, and studied Turns of Phrase, which prevailed in his Time. The same is obvious in his Letters, but with less Offence, because they are all detached Pieces, in which such a Style does not displease: They are however far from being comparable to those of *Cicero*.

There is a Collection of *Latin* Orations extant, entitled, *Panegyrici veteres*, which contains Eulogiums upon several of the *Roman* Emperors. That of *Pliny* is at the Head of them, with eleven of the same kind after it. This Collection, besides including abundance of Facts not to be found elsewhere, may be of great Use to such as have Occasion to compose Panegyrics. And tho' all the Beauty and Delicacy of the *Augustan* Age are not contained in them, they abound nevertheless with very fine Thoughts, happy Turns of Expression, lively Descriptions, and the justest Commendation. To give his Readers some Idea of them, he has inserted two *Latin* Passages, extracted from the Panegyric spoken by *Nazarius* in Honour of *Constantine the Great*, upon the Birth-day of the two *Cæsars* his Sons.

ARTICLE

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## ARTICLE XVIII.

*To the Author of the* HISTORY *of the* WORKS *of the* LEARNED.

*SIR,*

I AM a little surprised you should let so curious a Work escape your Observation, as that entitled, *Future Rewards and Punishments believed by the* ANCIENTS, *particularly the* PHILOSOPHERS. *Wherein some Objections of the Rev. Mr.* WARBURTON, *in his* Divine Legation *of* Moses, *are considered. To which is added, An Address to Free-thinkers.* * This Book has been published several Months, without your taking any Notice of it in your History. As I am willing to ascribe this, rather to your Want of Leisure hitherto for considering so excellent a Performance, as this is in some Folks Estimation, than to any more unjustifiable Cause; I have ventured to send you a brief Article relating to it, which I shall be glad to find in your next Journal.

*Lincoln's-Inn, Sept. 18, 1740.* *I am,*
*SIR,* &c.

THE Motive which principally induced this zealous Author to publish the Collections and Observations of which this Treatise consists, is a mighty general one: It was *the strange and unjustifiable Methods which some Men take to advance their own Systems, by depreciating and running down those of all others.* Every judicious Reader will look

* It is an Octavo: Printed for *M. Steen*, in the *Inner-Temple Lane*. 1740. Pages 230, besides the Preface.

for

for ſomething extraordinary from a Writer who ſets out with ſo diſcreet and genteel a Declaration as this is. Who theſe Somebody's are that have ſet the good Gentleman to work, is paſt my Skill, nor is it my Buſineſs to determine. But to be ſure, if his Charge againſt them be right, they have rendered themſelves very obnoxious, and cannot fail of a vaſt many Enemies, beſides him, while they indulge themſelves in ſuch an invidious Practice as this he accuſes them of. Moſt Men value their Syſtems as they do their Lives; nay, ſome have parted with their Lives, rather than renounce, or ſo much as conceal, their Syſtems; And can any Creature who is in his Senſes, or has the leaſt Regard to his very Being, as a Member of the Republick of Letters, incur the Enmity of ſo great a Part of Mankind, as ſuch a Procedure muſt neceſſarily expoſe him to: Nay, will any one, who is not deſtitute of all Bowels of Compaſſion, be ſo cruel to thoſe of his own Species, as to run down and demoliſh what is generally dear to them above all things, merely for the ſake of eſtabliſhing his own Opinion!

And yet, ſurely, ſome ſuch People as theſe there muſt be; ſeeing we are not to ſuppoſe, that ſo grave and learned an Author as ours would fight with Shadows, or combat Windmills; or would, at the very Entrance of his Book, brand thoſe Perſons with ſo odious a Character as we find here, who were guilty of no other Miſdemeanour, but that of beating out untrodden Paths in polite Literature, or inveſtigating ſome noble Truth by new Methods, or uncommon *Media*. If it were true in fact, that for no other Reaſons but theſe, he poured out his Reſentments againſt any one; though that Any-one ſhould chance to be miſtaken, yet he could not fail, by ſuch a Conduct, of exciting our Indignation rather than our Reſpect. But this is ſo odious an Imputation, that it is to be hoped no one will dare to

 inſinuate

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insinuate it. No! no! Let us rather be firmly persuaded, that all those who propose any Systems to the World, that clash with our Author's, let their Genius, their Talents, their Candour appear never so bright, have in truth no other Intention than this vile one here attributed to them; *viz.* That of exploding the Systems of all others, merely for the Advancement of their own. Against this Set of Depreciators our Author has thrown out a good deal of just Reproach in his Preface. His Reproofs indeed do not lie in any exact Order, but they are sufficiently obvious notwithstanding. There is Perspicuity enough in what he says to see what he designs; and what signifies a Superfluity of that Quality in Discourses that are calculated only for the Learned?

As to what relates in general to the Subject of the Sheets now before me, I can do nothing better than transcribe the Author's own elegant Account thereof, *verbatim*. "The Case, says he, "in fact is this: It is indisputably true, and "beyond all reasonable Contradiction, that the "Doctrine of future Rewards and Punishments is "clearly and plainly discovered and laid down in "the New Testament; and it is as indisputably "true, and beyond all reasonable Contradiction, "that the Doctrine of future Rewards and Punish-"ments is clearly and plainly discovered and laid "down in the Books and Writings of the Heathens. "The Truth of which Point is now submitted to "the Judgment of every impartial Reader. For "whose Ease and Satisfaction in the Comparison I "thought once to have collected such Texts out of "the New Testament as relate to this Subject; but "as I find it already done by Bishop *Gastrel*, at "the End of his *Christian Institutes*, I omitted that "Trouble. As for the Translation, I have kept "as near to the Original as was consistent with that "Idiom,

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" Idiom, or Propriety of Expreſſion, which is pe-
" culiar to different Languages; and I ſolemnly
" declare, that, to my Knowledge, I never once
" deviated from the real Intent and true Meaning
" of the Author. For my Ignorance I hope the
" Reader will make great Allowances, ſince it is
" manifeſt I do not intend to impoſe upon him,
" having printed the *Latin* in the ſame Page with
" the Tranſlation, and the Names of the ſeveral
" Authors from whence it was taken; and to this
" ſame Cauſe, no doubt, he will impute it, that
" he is not entertained with many more Authorities
" on the ſame ſubject, which a longer Experience,
" or an abler Hand, might have furniſhed him
" with; but I hope theſe may be ſufficient to prove
" what I propoſe. If any one deſire to know why
" I did not print the Original of ſuch Authors, who
" wrote in *Greek*; my Anſwer is, Tho' for ſome
" other Reaſons I ſhould not have thought it pro-
" per, yet this alone will certainly be ſufficient,
" which is in Subſtance the ſame with one already
" given by my Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*; that, by
" a long Avocation to Studies of quite another
" Nature, I ſo far neglected my Improvement in
" this Language, as that I do not ſufficiently un-
" derſtand it, either to read, and much leſs to write
" it with any tolerable Riddance, or Pleaſure to
" myſelf." Let us now be a little more particular.

Our Author has divided his Work into four Chapters. In the firſt *ſome Objections againſt the Philoſophers Belief of a future State of Rewards and Puniſhments are conſidered and anſwered.* In the ſecond *the Opinions of the Philoſophers, concerning a future State, are ſet forth.* In the third we have *the Teſtimony of ſome Moderns, that the Ancients, particularly the Philoſophers, did believe the Doctrine of future Rewards and Puniſhments.* In the fourth we are informed *what ſort of Rewards and Puniſh-*

*ments they held absurd and ridiculous, and therefore did not believe in a literal Sense.*

The first Chapter opens with a Reflection, which, notwithstanding any Regard I may have for this Author, my Impartiality will not suffer me to justify. It is upon a Gentleman, who must be owned to have a noble Genius, and such Accomplishments as might force even his Enemies to esteem him; and who, having no particular Temptation to deny, disguise, or pervert the Truth, should be supposed, where there is not Evidence to the contrary, to have the Establishment thereof at Heart, in all his Inquiries, and not to offer as Arguments, what he is conscious of being mere Paralogism. But a Reader would have a very different Idea of the Case, who should form it by what our Author has said in the Preamble to this Chapter; *viz.*

"It has not always been the Happiness of learned "and ingenious Men, to turn their Thoughts and "Studies to the direct and immediate Discovery of "Truth, and the real and substantial Improvement "of Mankind. What were the various Motives "which at Times have been the Occasion of this "Misfortune, is of no Consequence at present to "inquire. That which seems most to have influ-"enced the Author of *The Divine Legation of* "*Moses*, is the Advancement of a certain favourite "Scheme, which, however grand and noble when "brought to Light, will not, I believe, receive "much Lustre from the Contrast of Darkness he "has thrown upon the Ancients. It seems very "surprising, notwithstanding all the following "Authorities, and many more, which, no doubt, "this learned Gentleman must have met with, to "the contrary, that he should thus speak of the "Philosophers: *I have examined their Writings* "*with all the Exactness I was able, and it appears* "*evident to me, that these Men believed nothing of* "*a su-*

" *a future State of Rewards and Punishments, which they moſt induſtriouſly propagated in Society.* " And indeed he was well aware of the Surpriſe " ſuch an Aſſertion would raiſe in his Readers, " when immediately following he ſays, *Yet the con-* " *trary having been ſo long and ſo generally taken* " *for granted, and the Opinions of the Philoſophers* " *ſo often urged by our ablest Writers, as conform-* " *able and favourable to the Chriſtian Doctrine of a* " *future State, I ſuſpect that what I have here* " *ſaid, will be eſteemed at firſt Sight an unreaſon-* " *able and licentious Paradox.* And again, *Having premiſed thus much to clear our Way, and* " *abate the Prejudices againſt a new Opinion, I* " *come now,* &c. And afterwards, *Notwithſtand-* " *ing the full Evidence of the laſt Section, I ſuſpect* " *the general Prejudice, ſupported by the Reaſona-* " *bleneſs of the Doctrine itſelf, will yet be apt to* " *make the Reader ſuſpend his Aſſent to our Con-* " *cluſion.* * By all which, and indeed his whole " Manner of treating this Subject, he plainly diſ-" covers ſuch a great Diſtruſt of his Arguments " and Concluſions to convince the Judgment of " his Readers, that he rather ſeems labouring for " Victory in the Schools, than ſeriouſly endeavour-" ing to make out a plain and eaſy Truth.

After this Cenſure, which, I acknowledge, muſt be very well founded, not to call for a much ſharper on the Animadverter, our Author, paſſing over (as I agree with him in thinking he had beſt do) Mr.

* What an Openneſs and Ingenuity is here! which this Writer is pleaſed to conſtrue into a great Diſtruſt in Mr. *Warburton* of his Arguments and Concluſions. Whereas it is ſo far from being any ſuch thing, that on the contrary there appears the higheſt Aſſurance of their Validity. What elſe means *the full Evidence of the laſt Section?* Mr. *Warburton* indeed was apprehenſive of the Prejudice and Prepoſſeſſion of his Readers, but not at all of the intrinſick Weight of his Reaſons.

*Warburton*'s nice Distinctions, Divisions and Subdivisions, his Account of the new and old Academy, the Origin of Fables, *&c.* proceeds directly to his Point, which is, to examine those Reasons upon which the said Mr. *Warburton* has built his Opinion of the Infidelity of the ancient Philosophers; and these, he says, may be reduced to two: First, "That the Philoso-"phers held it lawful for the publick Good, to say one "thing when they thought another; and that they "actually did so." Secondly, "That they held "some fundamental Principles of Philosophy, which "were altogether inconsistent with the Doctrine of "future Rewards and Punishments." Our Author tells us how Mr. *Warburton* endeavours to prove the first of these Propositions (at the same time insinuating, with his usual Candour, that he does it by an unfair Representation of the Case) and then pretends to shew the Inconclusiveness of his Arguments.

Mr. *Warburton*, as our Author says, would prove his Point from the esoteric and exoteric, or the internal and external Doctrine of the Ancients. Such different Doctrines there were, our Author owns, among the Philosophers; but that this Difference of Doctrine had any Effect to hinder their believing in one Sense, what they sometimes encouraged the People to believe in another, is what has by no means been proved from it; and therefore he will have it, that Mr. *Warburton* expresses himself very ambiguously, where he asserts, that they held it lawful for the publick Good to say one thing when they thought another. For in the present Question, as he adds, if we understand by this, that the Philosophers believed a future State in a spiritual, refined, and rational Sense, while they sometimes countenanced the People in their gross, vulgar, and corporeal Notions of it; then what he lays down is certainly true. But, as he goes on, if

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we understand it as he intends we should, that the Philosophers preached the Doctrine of a future State to the People, while themselves believed the direct contrary, *viz.* That there was no future State of Rewards and Punishments at all; then his Charge on the Philosophers is what can never be concluded from their double Doctrine. In order therefore to clear the Philosophers from the Imputation of being Impostors and Hypocrites, * he begs Leave to explain this Matter to the Reader in as easy and familiar a Manner as is possible, and represent it in such a Light as his own Observation and common Experience, without much Reading, will convince him is the true one.

When he has done this according to the best of his Ability, and with the Assistance of *Solomon*, *Plutarch*, *Varro*, Dr. *Thomas Burnet*, Lord *Herbert*, St. *Augustin*, *Sallust*, and twenty other Great Men, several of whom, as he himself acknowledges, have said, in effect, just what Mr. *Warburton* says, he judges we may be convinced, "That their Philosophers were generally very sound in the true "Principles and Foundation of Religion; that "they believed the Being and Attributes of God, "and the Necessity either of Virtue and Innocence "or of Repentance and Amendment to be accepted "of him.

* But how has he exculpated the Philosophers from the Charge of Imposture and Hypocrisy, when almost all he advances with that View proves them guilty of both? They are no less chargeable with them on his Scheme, than on Mr. *Warburton's*. This Gentleman charges them with Imposture, in propagating a Doctrine which they absolutely disbelieved: and our Author does the very same: For though it were true, that they believed a future State, yet, according to his own Account, they absolutely disbelieved the Doctrine they delivered *concerning* it; and a Man's believing a Truth in general, will not free him from the Imputation of Imposture or Hypocrisy, if he designedly deceive others with respect to the *Means* of it.

But the present Question being only concerning future Rewards and Punishments, he hopes what he has already said, and what he says hereafter, will fully satisfy the Reader of their certain Belief of this Point; and to prove "that their Faith, as to "the Substantials of Religion, was not built on "the same Bottom as the prevailing Opinions of "their Countrymen: So that, notwithstanding their "double Doctrine, and the Necessity they were "under of indulging the common People in their "Notions, they had still some fixed ones of their "own, purer and better grounded; and that their "internal and external Doctrine did not relate to "contradictory Points, as God and no God, a fu-"ture State and no future State, *&c.* but to diffe-"rent Manners, Modes, and Circumstances of be-"lieving the same Thing.

This brings our Author to Mr. *Warburton*'s second Argument against the Philosophers believing a future State; which is, That they had some Principles of Philosophy altogether inconsistent therewith. These Principles are, first, That God could neither be angry nor hurt any one: Secondly, That the Soul was a discerpable Part of the Whole, and that this Whole was God, into whom it was again to be resolved.

That the first of these Principles was held by the Philosophers, Mr. *Warburton*, it seems, endeavours to support by Passages from the Ancients. One is in *Tully*, but this Passage, our Author tells us, when rendered agreeable to the genuine Sense of that Writer, will be of no Significancy to him; and accordingly he has, by the Help of the Context, made a Translation thereof, which, if it be but a just one, must deprive Mr. *Warburton* of all the Benefit of it. However, this is but a negative Argument; and therefore he attempts afterwards to shew, by divers Testimonies, that the old Philosophers believed

believed the Gods actually punished Crimes, and that Men incurred their Anger by committing them. Another Authority that Mr. *Warburton* produces to strengthen his Conclusion, is from *Lactantius*; which he calls an illustrious Instance. But, on the other hand, our Author, without quoting it, treats it with the utmost Contempt; and, after a smart Volley of Reproach, he very prettily says, that "*Lactantius* grossly mistook this fine Sentiment of "the Philosophers, and in combating with it, *fell* "*into a Puddle of foul Absurdities.*"

But, to clear this Matter more fully, our Author thinks it now proper to consider the Principle it self, which, as Mr. *Warburton* says, greatly embarrassed Antiquity; because the Ancients, says he, could not distinguish between human Passions and the Divine Attributes of Justice and Goodness. But our Author hopes (and strives) to make it appear, that the Ancients were not at all embarrassed, and that they distinguished in this Particular just in the same Manner as we do now. And that the Reader may be thoroughly apprised of this Matter, he lays before him some Passages, in which it is said that God is not subject to Passion, or that he is void of Anger, and can hurt none; and others, where he is said to be angry, and to punish Sinners for their Crimes: By which, he says, "every one may the "better judge, whether the *Ancients* were not ex-"actly of the same Opinion as himself, and did not "speak as Christians now do, sometimes with re-"gard to the ineffable and absolute Rectitude of an "infinitely perfect Being, and sometimes with re-"spect to the Relation he bears to us his finite and "imperfect Creatures."

Having finished this Part, our Author comes to consider the next Principle which Mr. *Warburton* lays down as repugnant to the Belief of a future State; which is, "That the Generality of the Phi-

"losophers

"losophers held the Soul to be a diſcerped Part of "a Whole, and this Whole was God, into whom "again it was to be reſolved." Mr. *Warburton* is apprehenſive the Reader will ſuſpect theſe kind of Phraſes are highly figurative Expreſſions, and not to be meaſured by the ſevere Standard of metaphyſical Propriety; and therefore he deſires us to take notice of another Conſequence from this Principle; which is, that the Soul was eternal, *à parte antè*, as well as *à parte poſt*; and this, as he ſays, was univerſally held by Antiquity. To prove its being ſo, Mr. *Warburton* has brought but one Authority; which our Author does not ſeem to reliſh, as liking better of Numbers. This Teſtimony is quoted from *Cudworth*, and is ſuch a one as Mr. *Warburton* ſays is above Exception. But here likewiſe he is ſo unfortunate as to differ from our Author, who has this Exception againſt it; That it will not ſupport what Mr. *Warburton* would build upon it. At firſt View indeed it ſeems to be as well adapted as one could deſire for his Purpoſe; but when our Author has had it in hand, modelled it after his Pleaſure, and confronted it with other Paſſages from the Ancients, which ſpeak differently, it muſt be ſaid, one cannot ſo well tell what to make of it. However, we can hardly agree with him, That there is not therein one Word which either expreſſes, or with any tolerable Propriety implies, any ſuch Doctrine as Mr. *Warburton* would deduce from it. But our Author is not content with merely depriving his Antagoniſt of the Benefit of this Quotation: He will go farther, and prove, that the Philoſophers could not hold what he attributes to them, concerning the Soul's being a Part of God, diſcerped from him. And this he does, partly imitating Mr. *Warburton*'s Way of Arguing, by ſhewing it to be a Tenet greatly inconſiſtent with another well-known Opinion among them, *That Souls were linked to Bodies*

*Bodies for a Punishment, or sent down as into a State of Trial.*

By the Authorities which he produces relating to this Matter it appears plainly, he says, That the Philosophers denied the Soul to be, in a literal Sense, a Part of God, or, as such, eternal *à parte ante*; but held it was created in Time, and a perfectly distinct Substance from him. It is very true, he adds, that some few Expressions now and then to be found in the Writings of the Philosophers, if taken in a strict literal Sense, might in some measure answer Mr. *Warburton*'s Purpose; but when the literal Sense is plainly absurd, and the contrary maintained by a Multitude of clear Expressions, we of course understand it figuratively. From the whole of what he has offered upon this Head he would have us conclude, "That, notwithstanding some "highly figurative Expressions made use of by the "Philosophers, they might very consistently believe "a future State of Rewards and Punishments; "and, considering their frequent and open Profes- "sions of their Belief, and their Endeavours to in- "struct others in it, as they were capable, or had "Ears to hear, we may be morally assured that "they were no Impostors or Hypocrites, but that "they actually and sincerely did believe it.

But, besides the express Testimony of the Philosophers concerning a future State of Rewards and Punishments, our Author says, They have delivered many things about a general Conflagration and Renovation of the World, the Excellency of the Soul, the Necessity of the Care of it, and of its being immaterial, of keeping our Thoughts pure, of pleasing God, of our being strictly virtuous and upright, tho' unobserved, *&c.* all which have some Tendency to the Belief of the same Doctrine, and are of such a Nature, as that they cannot possibly be thought to be advanced or propagated only with a

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View to temporal Interest; and if we consider the Simplicity, Sincerity, and solemn Awfulness with which they frequently speak of this Subject, we cannot easily suppose that only worldly Policy was all along at the bottom of their Hearts: He mentions one Instance only of this from *Cicero*.

But now, having shewn, that there is not the least Inconsistency between any Doctrines held by the Philosophers and their Belief of future Rewards and Punishments; our Author proceeds, in the second Chapter, to lay before the Reader such Authorities as he has met with, which in their own Words plainly express their Belief of such a State hereafter: and these he apprehends to be so clear and full, as to render it wholly needless to intersperse any Observations of his own, or to point out the Conclusions that may be so easily drawn from them.

Many of these Authorities are from *Plato*; for others our Author is indebted to *Hyde*'s *Religio veterum Persarum*; and for the rest to *Iamblichus*, *Strabo*, *Josephus*, *Kaempfer*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Apuleius*, *Macrobius*, *Plutarch*, divers *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, *&c.*

After all the lively Descriptions of another Life which appear in the Quotations that fill up the second Chapter, and the open Professions of the Philosophers as to their Belief of future Rewards and Punishments, if there can the least Doubt remain in the Reader's Breast of the Truth and Sincerity of such Professions, it must, our Author tells us, arise from the Influence and Prepossession of a few random Expressions, now and then thrown out, to depreciate the Philosophers, by certain Persons, who thinking themselves obliged to say something out of the common Road, very frequently discover their Ignorance and Want of Sense in the very Attempt to display their Learning.

Who

Who these indeterminate People are I cannot pretend to ascertain, our Author's Description in this Place being very indefinite and unsatisfactory. But whoever they may be, that such Pretenders to Knowledge, such empty Mimicks of real Worth, as he styles them, may no longer impose upon Persons of good Understanding, whose Education or Business in Life may not afford them Means or Time to make particular Inquiries themselves, he proceeds in the third Chapter to lay before us the Opinions of some very eminent Men among the Moderns, to prove, that *the Ancients, particularly the Philosophers, did believe the Doctrine of future Rewards and Punishments.* His Authorities to this Purpose are extracted from *Grotius*, *Meibomius*, Lord *Herbert*, *Stillingfleet*, *Wilkins*, *Barrow*, *Clarke*, *Leng*, and *Sherlock*.

From the Testimonies of these Great Men it is evident, our Author says, that Mankind, from the Dictates of their own Minds, and from the Strength of natural Reason, without any particular Revelation, might easily have a Notion of future Rewards and Punishments; and by the many express Authorities of the Ancients themselves, cited in the second Chapter, it manifestly appears, that in fact they had such a Notion. He would have us remark likewise, that their Descriptions of these things have scarcely the least Tincture of Grossness, Absurdity, or material Mixture, but are of a most pure and spiritual Nature: Not but that now and then the Philosophers set these things forth in a figurative, poetical, or metaphorical Way, in their external Doctrine suited to the Apprehensions of the Vulgar. But as he has purposely omitted all Representations of this kind, so he would have us to remember, that our own Scriptures greatly abound with Figures, Dreams, Visions, Types, Metaphors, Allegories, Mysteries, *&c.* and that with relation to this very Subject

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Subject they are plentifully ſtored with ſeemingly corporeal, earthly, and worldly Deſcriptions; of which he gives divers Inſtances; taking notice at the ſame time, "that as we approve and defend "theſe, judging them very expreſſive to our weak "Capacities, of ſuch things as ſhall happen hereaf-"ter; it is exceeding hard and unjuſt, that ſome "little indulgence of this kind ſhould not be al-"lowed to others; or that on the bare Mention "of them we ſhould, as is frequent, immediately "ridicule and utterly reject all their Stories and "Deſcriptions, which in the literal Senſe carry with "them the leaſt Abſurdity, tho' in fact their Fi-"gures, Allegories, *&c.* are altogether as natural "and proper as our own, nay oftentimes juſt the "ſame." But that this Objection [that is, I ſuppoſe, of the Philoſophers expreſſing themſelves in a corporeal or figurative Way concerning a future State] unreaſonable as it is in our Mouths, may have no Weight to leſſen our Opinion of the real Belief of the Philoſophers, he in the laſt Chapter endeavours to ſhew, that they either held ſuch corporeal Rewards and Puniſhments abſurd and ridiculous, or did not believe them in a literal Senſe. And this he does by Quotations from *Cicero*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Lucretius*, *Plutarch*, *Plotinus*, and Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*.

I have done, Sir, with this Volume, ſo far as it relates to Mr. *Warburton*, when I have ſaid, that how well ſoever I may think of it, and however deſirous I may be of an Account being given of it to the Publick, I am very far from ranking it, for Excellency or Merit, with *The Divine Legation of Moſes*; a Work in which we ſee the evident Signatures of an original and ſublime Genius, no mere Collector, no Copyiſt, but ſtriking out a grand and beauteous Plan, and raiſing thereon a Structure of the moſt elegant Form, and the fineſt Materials.

Will

Will it be said, The Foundation is not firm; there is a Flaw in that, which renders the Fabric erected thereon insecure? Grant this to be the Case, and that it will not altogether answer the noble Idea or Design of the Architect; yet even with that Flaw, with that Deficiency, it vastly surpasses and gives more Delight than the less exceptionable Performances of meaner Hands. Is there nothing in those to blame? Neither perhaps is there any thing to commend. But here there is much to admire, much to applaud; supposing it to be true, that there is somewhat also to censure. What Subject has *Homer*, *Michael Angelo*, the Divine *Raphael*, and *Milton*, afforded for Criticism! and yet who would not be a *Homer*, a *Michael Angelo*, a *Raphael*, or like the Prince of *English* Poets? Are not their Writings the Pleasure as well as the Admiration of Mankind. Thus will *The* DIVINE LEGATION, notwithstanding any Objection to it, always have Charms for those who have a Relish of polite Literature; and be of more Worth than perhaps all the Animadversions on it, even though they should be well grounded. But both the Book and its Author are above my Commendations; nor should I have said what I have of either, but to obviate the least Suspicion of my approving the Manner in which that Gentleman is treated in the Work before me: A Circumstance which, I cannot but own, is so far from reflecting the least Honour upon it, or the Writer, that, in the Esteem of the most candid Judges, it is rather a Disgrace to both.

As for the *Address to Free-thinkers*, which follows the Treatise I have been speaking of, it does not contain any Arguments for the Truth of any particular System or Article of Faith, but is only an earnest Persuasive to them, seriously to consider the Evidences for Revelation, the Doctrines of the

Soul's

Soul's Immortality; of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, and of the Being and Attributes of God.

## ARTICLE XIX.

*A Practical Essay on the* Small-Pox: *Wherein a Method of preparing the Body before the Disease comes on, and of deriving the* variolous Matter *from the* vital *to the* remote *Parts of the Body after the Accession, in order to prevent the fatal Consequences which too often attend it, is proposed; a Method of Curing the* Small-Pox *by* Resolution, *or taking off the Inflammation, is recommended: Together with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Disease. To which is added, An Account of the principal Variations of the* WEATHER, *and the concomitant epidemic Diseases, as they appeared at* Ripon, *and the circumjacent Parts of* Yorkshire, *from the Year* 1726 *to the End of* 1734. *By* WILLIAM HILLARY, *M. D. at* Bath. London: *Printed for* C. Hitch, *at the* Red-Lion *in* Pater-Noster-Row, *and* J. Leake *at* Bath. 1740. *Octavo.*

IN the Preface of this Essay the Author endeavours to retrieve the Credit of mechanical Reasoning in Medicine, which he thinks some of the Faculty too much neglect and despise; and urges the Necessity of inquiring into the Nature and Causes of Distempers by the *inductive Method*. He endeavours

endeavours to obviate the Objections which the Oppoſers uſually make; and concludes, that as the Diſcoveries and Improvements in the Art of Healing have been made by attending to this Method; ſo all future Acquiſitions of this kind are to be made in the ſame Way. To the Eſſay is prefixed, *An Hiſtorical Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Small Pox.* The Author ſuppoſes them intirely unknown to the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Phyſicians; ſeveral of whom he mentions, with a ſuccinct Account of their Lives and Writings: and from theſe he ſhews, that they have mentioned no Diſeaſe either like the *Small-Pox* or *Meaſles*; and concludes from thence, that they were unknown to the Ancients, and till about *A. D.* 620. "For, ſays he, "it can hardly be ſuppoſed that the "*Greek* Phyſicians, who have ſo exactly deſcribed "ſo many Diſeaſes, both acute and chronical, "with all their minute Symptoms, nay, ſome "which rather deſerve the Names of Inconvenien-"ces or Uneaſineſſes, than Diſeaſes, ſhould ſo ſi-"lently paſs over two ſuch Diſtempers as theſe "are, without deſcribing them and their peculiar "Symptoms," *&c.*

He ſuppoſes them to have been *indigenous* to *Arabia*, and thinks it moſt probable to its ſouthern Parts; "where, ſays he, the Inhabitants might "have had theſe Diſtempers a conſiderable time "among themſelves, before they were communi-"cated to any other Nation; as they were ſituated "in a remote *Peninſula*, ſeparated from the reſt "of the World by impaſſible ſandy Deſarts, and "had very little Communication with any body." He likewiſe obſerves, that the *Arabian* Phyſicians were the firſt who took notice of theſe Diſtempers; and that the *Saracens* brought them along with them into *Egypt* about *A. D.* 640. from whence,



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by the means of this reſtleſs People, they were communicated to the reſt of the World.

In the Courſe of this Account our Author takes notice of the different Methods of Curing the Small-Pox, made uſe of in different Ages; and points out the chief Patrons of the ſeveral prevailing Hypotheſes. An Account of Inoculation cloſes this Hiſtory; in which, after mentioning its Riſe, and the Reception it has met with in different Places, leaves its Fate to be decided amongſt us, by explicit Anſwers to theſe two Queries:

I. Whether the Danger is leſs, to have the Small-Pox by Inoculation, than to have them in the common Courſe by a natural Infection? Or,

II. Whether to have the Small-Pox procured by Inoculation, is as ſufficient a Security againſt a ſecond Invaſion, as it is to have them in the natural Way?

The Treatiſe itſelf next follows, which will ſcarce admit of any Abridgment; ſo that I can do little more than mention the Contents in general, and the Order in which the Subject is diſpoſed. The Title of this Part is, "A Practical Eſſay on "the Small-Pox; wherein the Cauſe, Nature, "and Diſpoſition of this Diſeaſe are explained, its "Symptoms attempted to be accounted for, and "a Method of preparing the Body before, and "deriving the *variolous* Matter from the vital to "the remote Parts of the Body after, the Acceſſion "of the Diſeaſe, in order to prevent the fatal "Conſequences which too often attend it, is propoſed."

In Chap. I. agreeable to the general Conſent of Phyſicians, our Author makes it to be an epidemical, contagious Diſeaſe; explains what he means by theſe Terms, and how ſuch Diſeaſes are communicated by the *Air* as a *Medium*. He takes notice

notice of the Difference among Writers concerning the various Kinds of Small-Pox; but thinks it sufficient to "treat of it as one Disease, divided "into the *distinct*, *contiguous*, *confluent*, and *bleeding Small-Pox*, attended with *purple Spots*, and "*Hæmorrhages*: all which, he says, are sometimes "intermixed with the *crystalline*, *filiquose*, and *verrucose*, when of a malignant Sort.

In Chap. II. III. IV. he enumerates the Symptoms peculiar to each Sort: and in Chap. V. the *irregular and fatal Symptoms which attend this Disease*; and shews the different Degrees of Danger which they portend, through all the Stages.

Chap. VI. treats of the *proximate Cause of the Small-Pox, Method of Prevention, and the Treatment proper in the first Stage.* He first endeavours to demonstrate, what Alteration the Blood must undergo before the Pustules will appear; and how the *variolous Infection*, or *Miasma variolosum*, as he calls it, is capable of producing this Change. The surest Method of Prevention, he says, is to avoid infected Places: But when this cannot be done, he recommends some Doses of purging Physick to be taken every third or fourth Day, for three or four times; and after that, once a Week, from the Time that the Disease appears in the Neighbourhood till the Danger of Infection is over; mentioning likewise the Regimen which they ought to observe. He explains the Benefits accruing from this Method in several Respects; and adds, That "it is the chief, if not the sole Advantage, which "Inoculation has above the common Way of In-"fection, That the Body by this, or some such "like Method, may be prepared for the Attack." The Indications he draws from his Account of this Disease are,



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" 1. To diminish the *Quantity*, and correct " the *stimulating*, *putrescent Quality* of the infec- " tious Pustules received into the Blood.

" 2. To divert the variolous Matter from the " *internal* and *vital* to the *external* and *remote Parts* " of the Body.

" 3. To moderate the Motion of the Fluids, " and preserve it in such an equal State, as is ne- " cessary for the total and regular Expulsion of the " remaining Infection. And

" 4. To prevent the Fluids from being too " much changed from their natural Motion and " Texture, to a morbid, putrescent State."

For answering these Purposes, the first of all mentions Evacuations, and Bleeding in particular is largely insisted on; bathing the Extremities in warm Water, external Fomentations, *&c.* are recommended; the Use of Blisters specified; and he treats of the rest of the Cure in this and the following Chapter.

Our Author spends Chap. VIII. on the second Fever. He ascribes it to the Retention of the perspirable Matter, Absorption of the Matter of the Pustules, or *variolous Sanies*, and Siziness of the Blood. In the Cure he recommends opening the ripe Pustules, and wiping off the Matter; and endeavours to adjust the Disputes about Evacuations, and to shew when and what Evacuations are necessary; when also Anodynes are to be given, and to what End.

The Essay on Curing the Small-Pox as an inflammatory Disease, without suffering it to come to the State of Suppuration, is added to the End of this Treatise. He endeavours to demonstrate the Analogy betwixt this Disease and Fevers attending topical Inflammations: He urges, that the Consequence of both these is Suppuration, when



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when left to themſelves; and as their Riſe, Progreſs, and Concluſion are ſo nearly parallel, that it would not be unreaſonable to think of curing the Small-Pox in the ſame Manner as Inflammations in general are cured. He pretends no more than to recommend this Method, to illuſtrate it with ſome Examples of its Succeſs, and acknowledges that it is from the late illuſtrious *Boerhaave* that he borrowed the firſt Thought about it.

Beſides ſeveral Alterations in the Text of this Edition, the Author has added, "An Account "of the principal Variations of the Weather, and "the concomitant epidemical Diſeaſes, from the "Year 1716 to the End of 1734, as they ap"peared at *Ripon*, and the circumjacent Parts of "*Yorkſhire*;" With a Preface, recommending the Advantages accruing from ſuch Obſervations.

To this very conciſe and general Account of the Treatiſe now before us, which was drawn up by ſome Perſon unknown to me, I will adjoin a more particular Abſtract of our Author's Inquiry into the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Small-Pox*; which is a Branch of the Hiſtory of Phyſick that muſt be entertaining to every inquiſitive Reader.

Dr. *Hillary* obſerves, at the Beginning of the Inquiry, that "altho' the Compoſition and Structure of "human Bodies hath always been ſuch, as hath rendered them ſubject to various Changes, Diſeaſes, "and Death at laſt; yet all the now known Diſtem"pers are not of equal Antiquity; but in different "Ages and Climates Cauſes have appeared, capable "of producing Diſeaſes altogether new; and of ex"tinguiſhing others, which had long infeſted the "World: Inſomuch that ſeveral Diſeaſes which "were known to the Ancients, are now neither ſeen "nor heard of; and others are become almoſt uni"verſal, which were unknown to the Ancients.



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Of this ſort are the *Small-Pox* and *Meaſles*, of which we have not any Account till about the Year of Chriſt 640; tho' they are now become as univerſal Diſeaſes as any we know of. Some are inclined to think, that they were known to the ancient *Greek* Phyſicians before that Time; but our Author thinks no one who has any tolerable Acquaintance with their Writings can ſuppoſe, that they who have ſo exactly deſcribed ſo many Diſeaſes both *acute* and *chronical*, with all their minute Symptoms, nay ſome which rather deſerve the Name of Inconveniences or Uneaſineſſes, than Diſeaſes, ſhould ſo ſilently paſs over two ſuch remarkable Diſtempers as theſe we are ſpeaking of, without deſcribing them and their peculiar Symptoms, or mentioning them at leaſt, more fully than by the bare Names ἐξανθήματα, φλυκτιναὶ, and the like. He would have thoſe who are of this Opinion conſider, with what Exactneſs *Hippocrates* obſerved the minuteſt Appearance, in every Diſeaſe that came under his Notice, and how carefully he deſcribed each Symptom; and they muſt own, that it would argue him guilty of a Neglect not yet charged upon him, to ſuppoſe him ignorant of this Diſtemper, if it was then known in *Greece*; or if he did know it, that he never deſcribed it in a more diſtinguiſhing Manner than any of the Paſſages alledged by theſe Advocates can reaſonably be ſuppoſed to imply. The ſame may as juſtly be ſaid of *Celſus*, *Galen*, *Aeteæus*, *Cappadox*, *Cœlius*, *Aurelianus*, *Oribaſius*, *Ætius*, *Alexander Trallianus*, *Paulus Ægineta*, *&c.* moſt of whom have applied theſe Appellations to ſome Species of *cuticular Eruptions* or *Tumors*, but never intended them to ſignify either the *Small-Pox* or *Meaſles*.

As therefore none of the ancient or later *Greeks*, none of the *Roman*, *African*, or *European* Writers, have

have made the leaſt Mention of theſe two Diſeaſes; we may juſtly conclude they were unknown, both in *Europe*, as in *Greece*, *Italy*, *&c.* in the North and Weſt Parts of *Aſia*; the North Parts of *Arabia*, and in *Egypt*, and its neighbouring Countries in *Africa*, in any of their Times, and even till after the Death of *Mohamed*.

At or ſoon after the Deſtruction of *Alexandria*, and the burning its famous *Library*, by *Amrou Ebno'l Aas*, General of the *Saracen* Army, in the 20th Year of the *Hegira*, and 640th of CHRIST, theſe two Diſeaſes firſt appeared among the *Arabians* or *Saracens*, when they came into *Egypt* upon that Expedition, from whence they ſoon after ſpread into all the neighbouring Nations; and the *Arabian* Phyſicians and Hiſtorians are the firſt Authors who give us any Account of them. Theſe Circumſtances pretty ſtrongly incline us to believe, that they were firſt hatched and bred in, and are properly indigenous to *Arabia*, and moſt probably to its more ſouthern Parts; *viz.* the Kingdoms of *Hejaz*, *Yaman*, *Fartack*, and *Maſkate*, *&c.* where they might have had theſe Diſtempers a conſiderable time among themſelves, before they were communicated to any other Nation; as they were ſituated in a remote *Peninſula*, ſeparated almoſt from the reſt of the World by impaſſable ſandy Deſarts, and were very little known, or taken notice of, by any Authors of other Nations, and they had none of their own at this time, at leaſt whoſe Productions are come to our Hands.

*Abul-Pharagius* tells us, that one *Ahron*, a Prieſt and Phyſician, lived at *Alexandria* (about the Year of Chriſt 626) and wrote thirty Books in Phyſic, in the *Syriac* Language: Theſe are the firſt Books which mention the *Small-Pox*; and in them he has deſcribed the Symptoms and Time of their Eruption,



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and their different Kinds, with some short Hints concerning the Method of Cure: These Books were translated into *Arabic*, in the Reign of Caliph *Merwan*, *A. D.* 683. But as both the original Works of *Ahron* and this Translation are lost, we have nothing of his now remaining, but what *Rhazis* has collected from them, and left us in his *Continens*. This makes the Matter remain still in the dark, tho' 'tis probable, if we had the original Works of this *Ahron*, we might find a more full Account of the Rise of this Disease among the *Arabians*; at least of their bringing it into *Egypt*, and its manner of appearing there, than we now possibly can have. 'Tis certain however that these Diseases, *i. e.* the *Small Pox* and *Measles*, were known in *Egypt* about the Year 640. *Heg.* 20, and 'tis most probable were brought thither by the *Arabians*: Since we find, that they not only first appeared there upon their People's coming thither; but wherever they came afterwards and conquered, they there planted them; for soon after this time, they were become so frequent in their Dominions, that they reached People even of the first Rank, whose Stations might make them more capable of avoiding the Infection.

All the Account we can have of the *Small Pox*, from it's first appearance in *Egypt* about *A. D.* 640, to the XIIth or XIVth Century, we must take from the *Arabians*, as they are the first and only Authors now remaining, who have described this Disease. But even most of these are now lost.

One of the few whose Works are not quite perished, is *Mohamed Ebn Zacharia Al Rhazis*, commonly called *Rhazis* only. He died *A. D.* 930. He wrote a great many Treatises, one of which was on the *Small Pox*, wherein he has fully described their different Kinds, with their good and

bad

bad Symptoms, and the Method of Cure. As for his Method of Cure, it was more reasonable and just than the Methods used by any of the *Europeans*, even till Dr. *Sydenham*'s Time.

Another Writer on this Distemper, whom Dr. *Hillary* takes notice of, is the famous *Avicenna*. He was born *A. D.* 978. He is the first, who, in treating of the *Small Pox*, observed the *Bloody Urine* and *Bloody Stools*, two fatal Symptoms. He also first took notice of the *Quinsey*, or Swelling of the Throat, another mortal Symptom of it. He advised Bleeding more boldly than any of his Predecessors, and that in any time of the Disease when a *Plethora* requires it.

Both he and the other *Arabian* Physicians, of whom we have any Knowledge, treated of the *Small Pox* and *Measles* as one Distemper, or rather two Kinds of the same Distemper, (tho' they are in reality different.) For Preparatives they advise Bleeding, Swimming, drinking Icewater, (a Thing commonly used in their warm Climate) a cold acid Diet, and the Body to be kept open by Laxatives, to make the Pustules fewer. Our Author has set down very punctually the Manner in which they managed their Patients throughout the whole Course of the Disease.

After *Avicenna*, we meet with none of the *Arabian* Physicians, but they say something of the *Small Pox*.

But how, or when it was first brought into *Europe*, no Authors inform us; so that during the Interval of several Ages, we meet with no Assistance in our Researches into the History of its Progress. We may gather from History, that as the *Saracens* extended their Conquests and Empire Eastward into *Persia*, Northward into the *Grecian* Empire, and Westward along the Coast of *Africa*, (all which they did in little more than thirty

thirty Years Time) they planted the *Small Pox* and *Measles* wherever they came.

We are equally ignorant when this Diſeaſe was introduced into *England*; this much however is certain, that it was very well known here in the XIIIth Century, and perhaps long before. For two of our ancienteſt *Engliſh* Phyſicians, at leaſt whoſe Works are preſerved, *Gilbertus Anglicus*, and *John* of *Gaddeſden*, both ſpeak of the Diſeaſe as commonly known, even by the old Women. The firſt is ſuppoſed to have lived about 1270 or 1280, and the latter about 1310 or 1320.

About the Year 1453, *Conſtantinople* being taken by the *Turks*, many learned *Greeks* fled into *Italy*, bringing ſome of the *MSS.* of their old Phyſicians along with them; for untill this time the Writings of the *Greek* Phyſicians were not brought into the Weſtern Parts of *Europe* in their own Language; what they had of them before, being only ſuch as the *Arabians* had tranſlated out of the *Greek* into their own Tongue, and the *Europeans* thoſe again into *Latin*. But now receiving the *Greek* Originals, Men were ſet upon ſtudying the Language, comparing them with the *Arabian* Tranſlations, and then upon tranſlating, explaining and amending from the original *Greek*. As this was highly to the Advantage of Learning in general, ſo it cauſed a mighty Improvement of the Science of Medicine in particular.

*Chymiſtry*, tho' long before introduced into Medicine by the *Arabians*, yet made no great Progreſs till about the middle of the XVIth Century; about which time it was cultivated to very good purpoſe, and ſeveral efficacious Medicines were by its means diſcovered, of ſuperior Virtue to any then known.

Not long after this the Phyſicians divided into two Parties, the *Chemiſts* and *Galeniſts*; the firſt were

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were for infallibly curing all Diſeaſes with their new-invented Medicines, without any other Aſſiſtance; wherefore many of them oppoſed Bleeding almoſt in every Diſeaſe, and eſpecially in any State or Circumſtance of the *Small Pox*.

After this a warm Diſpute aroſe about the Uſe of a *hot* or *cool Regimen* in the *Small Pox*. Our Author ſets down the Grounds upon which thoſe who were for the *hot Regimen* founded their Practice. He then tells us, that it was followed by moſt Phyſicians, chiefly in our Country, till Dr. *Sydenham* at laſt brought the *cooling Regimen* into ſome Faſhion. At firſt indeed he carried this rather into an Extreme; but that he quickly, upon further Experience, retracted and reformed. This Method of Dr. *Sydenham*'s, tho' at firſt it met with a vigorous Oppoſition, has been followed ſince his Time by moſt *European* Phyſicians, and of late has been further improved by the three great Ornaments of the Faculty, Drs. *Pitcairn*, *Friend* and *Boerhave*.

Our Author cloſes his Hiſtory of the *Small Pox* with ſome Account of the Practice of *Inoculation*. He ſays, the Cuſtom of transferring the *Small Pox* ſeems not to be a modern Invention. The *Chineſe* have long had a Method of conveying this Diſeaſe, by dipping a little Pledgit of Cotton in the *variolous Matter* taken freſh out of the Puſtules, and putting it up the Noſtrils. We are told, that a Practice ſomething like Inoculation has been long uſed in *Wales*, chiefly among the Vulgar, which they call buying the *Small Pox*. But the Way which is practiſed here was brought from *Turky*, as they alſo borrowed it from the *Circaſſians*. It has been in Uſe among theſe Time immemorial. An old *Greek* Woman brought this Cuſtom along with her to *Conſtantinople* about 100 Years ago, where,

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where, after she had performed it on a few of her Country People, its Success appeared to be such, as gained her a great Reputation: Since which it has continued to be in great Repute. Mr. *Maitland*, a Surgeon, returning from *Turky* in 1720, introduced it here, where it was much in Vogue for a while; but its Credit seems to be at present sunk at home; tho' in some of our *American* Colonies it is now practised with considerable Success.

The Doctor says, that if Answers can be given in the Affirmative to the two following Queries, from a competent Number of just Observations, made either at home or in a Climate agreeing with ours in Temperature and Manner of Living, it is probable that its Credit may one Day be retrieved among us.

1. *Whether the Danger is less, to have the* Small-Pox *by* Inoculation, *than to have them in the common Course by a natural Infection?*

2. *Whether to have the* Small-Pox *procured by* Inoculation, *is as sufficient a Security against a second Invasion, as it is to have them in a natural Way?* *

It may not, he adds, by the way, be amiss to observe, that in general such only have been chose as proper Subjects for Inoculation, as were of healthful good Constitutions, and were likely to undergo the Disease with most Safety; whereas the Distemper seizes others indiscriminately, if not those soonest, whose Constitutions are obnoxious to the most violent and fatal Kinds. The Computations therefore of the Numbers of those who die of each sort, may probably be placed on a very unfair and unequal Bottom.

* These Queries occur before in the general Account of this Work; but I could hardly avoid repeating them in this Place.

Wherefore,

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Wherefore, till the World be fully satisfied that the Practice of Inoculation is found by sufficient Experience to be safe and successful, or that the Method he proposes at the End of this Treatise for taking off the Inflammation, and resolving the *variolous Matter*, is generally practicable, or the reverse, it will be prudent, he judges, to forbear it.

## ARTICLE XX.

THERE is published for *Stephen Austin*, at the *Angel and Bible* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, (beautifully and correctly printed in two Volumes, Folio, illustrated with proper Maps and Sculptures) the Work being now complete, *A New History of the Bible*, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity. With Answers to most of the controverted Questions, Dissertations upon the most remarkable Passages, and a Connexion of Prophane History, all along. To which are added, Notes, explaining difficult Texts, rectifying Mis-translations, and reconciling seeming Contradictions. By THO. STACKHOUSE, *A. M.* Vicar of *Beenham* in *Berkshire*, Author of *The Complete Body of Divinity*, &c.

*N. B.* In the History itself is given a plain and easy Narrative of the Matters contained in the Holy Scriptures, from the Beginning of the World to the full Establishment of Christianity: In the Notes is digested the Sense of the best Commentators, in order to explain the difficult Texts, rectify the Mis-translations, and reconcile the seeming Contradictions, that any where occur: In the Objections all the material Exceptions which are made to the Facts recorded in each Period of History are fairly stated, and

and answered: And in the Dissertations, which attend each Chapter, the most remarkable Passages are illustrated, and the Prophane and Sacred History all along connected. The Whole is adorned with proper Maps and Sculptures, and all Matters referred to in Scriptural, Chronological, and Alphabetical Tables.

*BOOKS just published by* JACOB ROBINSON, *at the* Golden-Lion *in* Ludgate-street.

I. *The Spirit of Antichrist Displayed*; in the History of the *English Martyrs*, who were cruelly burnt, or otherwise put to death, for opposing the *Romish* Religion; from the Reign of *Henry* IV. 1400, to the End of the Reign of Queen *Mary* I. Collected from the most authentick Authors. Whereunto is annexed, A short Account of some of the principal Errors taught and practised in the Church of *Rome* at this Day.

II. *The System of the World*, demonstrated in an easy and popular Manner. Being a proper Introduction to the most sublime Philosophy. By the illustrious Sir ISAAC NEWTON. Translated into *English*. The Second Edition, corrected and improved.

III. *The Principles of Logick and Rhetorick* illustrated by Examples drawn from the most approved Authors, ancient and modern, in all the polite Languages. Translated from the *French* of that learned and judicious Critick, M. BOUHOURS. To which are added, Parallel Instances from the most eminent *English* Writers in Verse and Prose, calculated for the Reader's Improvement in all the various Kinds of Thought and Expression.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE WORKS of the LEARNED.

## For NOVEMBER, 1740.

### ARTICLE XXI.

*A Dissertation on the Name of* Chrestus *in* Suetonius; *shewing it was by that Writer meant of our Saviour Christ; against the Opinions of Bishop* Usher, Vandale, *and* Le Clerc.

*Judæos impulsore Chresto assiduè tumultuantes, Claudius è Româ expulit.* Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 25.

I HAVE received your last curious and entertaining Letter, relating to that famous Passage in *Suetonius* which has occasioned some Controversy among learned Men, and was lately the Subject of our Conversation; and find you still persist in the Opinion you then maintained, that Jesus Christ is entirely out of the Question here; that the *Roman* Historian had no manner of Regard to our Saviour in this Place, and by the Name of *Chrestus* meant some particular Person, either a *Roman* or a *Greek*,



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who had ſpirited up the *Jews* into a Rebellion, and raiſed ſuch Tumults and Diſturbances at *Rome*, as obliged the Emperor *Claudius* (who in the Beginning of his Reign had been favourable to that Nation) now by an imperial Edict to baniſh them from that City. You ſay, Sir, you have the great Biſhop *Uſher*, the learned and judicious *Vandale*, and the late M. *Le Clerc*, on your Side; *at quales Viros!* Men of the greateſt Reputation in the Republick of Letters, and whoſe Authority muſt carry much Force along with it. I own it. But, Sir, I am not wanting for great Authorities on my Side, and ſuch likewiſe as may be thought of ſome Weight; as the great Biſhop *Pearſon*, and the πολυμαθεστατοι, *Pithæus* and *Giſbertus Cuperus*. But, after all, theſe are but human, and conſequently fallible Authorities. Theſe great Men with their immenſe Learning are but Men, and as ſuch are liable to Errors and Miſtakes; and you know, Sir, that *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Ariſtotle* themſelves are to be neglected and diſregarded, when they are found to ſtand in oppoſition to Truth: *Amicus Plato, Amicus Socrates, ſed magis Amica Veritas.* In order then to clear up this Matter between us, I ſhall firſt ſet down your Reaſons, with all the Force, and in the faireſt Light I can, and give a diſtinct, and (I hope) a ſatisfactory Anſwer to each of them. After which I ſhall, by way of Concluſion, fling in two or three Arguments of my own, in Defence of the Opinion I have endeavoured to defend. Your Reaſons are theſe:

Firſt, You think the *Chreſtus* here mentioned by the Biographer was ſome *Roman* or *Greek*, becauſe (as it appears by ſeveral Medals, old Inſcriptions, and ancient Writers) there were many of that Name in *Italy* and *Greece*.

Secondly, You believe it is not likely the *Jews* could, on the Account of Chriſt and his Religion,

ligion, have raiſed any Tumults and Diſturbances at *Rome*; ſince, when St. *Paul* went thither, the *Jews* ſeemed to know very little of Chriſtianity, as appears from the xxviiith of the *Acts*, Ver. 21, 22, and St. *Paul* himſelf, for the Space of two Years, was ſuffered to preach the Goſpel without any Hindrance or Moleſtation there.

Your third Proof is grounded upon the Opinion you have of *Suetonius*, who, you think, could not be guilty of ſuch a Blunder and Synchroniſm, as to mention Chriſt as alive under the Reign of *Claudius*, ſince he could not but have ſeen, nay, you think he had before him when he wrote, the *Annals* of *Tacitus*, who ſaith expreſly, that * Chriſt was put to death in the Reign of *Tiberius Cæſar*.

As to your fourth Reaſon, that there were many *Romans* and *Greeks* of the Name of *Chreſtus*, I am ſo far from denying it, that I can furniſh you with ſeveral Inſtances of it, which you have not done yourſelf; and this I hope you'll think to be generous and fair.

Thus *Appian*, in his *Mithridatic* War, p. 304, relates that one *Socrates*, ſurnamed *Chreſtus*, was ſent with an Army againſt *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. *Tully* ſpeaks of a certain Compilation made by one *Chreſtus*, *Epiſt. Famil.* 8. *Dion. Caſſius* mentions *Flavianus* and *Chreſtus*, whom he ſaith *Heliogabalus* put to death, *Excerpt. Xiphilini*, Lib. 39. p. 117. And, to name no more, among the ancient Monuments preſerved by *Euſebius* we meet with a Letter written by *Conſtantine the Great* to one *Chreſtus*, Biſhop of *Syracuſe*, *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Lib. 10. Cap. 5. I could give you, Sir, many Inſtances more of this Nature. But this kind

* Auctor Nominis Chriſtus Tiberio imperante per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum Supplicio affectus eſt. TACIT. Annal. Lib. 15.



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of Proof, which you lay so great Stress upon, seems, as I take it, rather to make for my Opinion than against it. For, first, since *Chrestus* was a Name so common among the Heathen, and whose Etymology was better known to the *Latins* and the *Greeks* than that of *Christus*, it may be naturally supposed, that this last might be easily changed by them into *Chrestus*; especially since, as a learned Man has observed from *Suidas*, they had both the same Sound, and were pronounced in the very same Manner: *Eodem sono erant, & eodem modo pronunciabantur.* To which I beg leave to add the Analogy of the *Greek* Language, in which this Change and Confusion of Vowels, putting one for the other, and particularly the H for I, which is the very Case before us, were very commonly made. The Name, for Instance, of *Silenus* was sometimes written Σίληνος, and sometimes Σείληνος. This, saith that learned Man, is the Case of *Chrestus* and *Christus*; which, tho' alike in Sound, ought to be distinguished by their Sense; the first implying *gracious* and *good*, the last, *anointed*. Now, Sir, allowing these to be probable Reasons for the Confusion of these two Words, which cannot, I conceive, fairly be denied, then the Sense of the Passage before us will naturally seem to be this; That some Disturbances which had been raised by the *Jews* at *Rome*, occasioned by the Doctrines and Messiahship of Christ, were the Cause of the Edict of Banishment pronounced against them by *Claudius*. Now that such Disputes and Contentions between the *Christians* and the *Jews* were common at that Time, and upon the Subjects I have mentioned in relation to Christ, sufficiently appears from the Account of St. *Luke*, and the Practice of St. *Paul* himself, who, as we read in the xxviiith of the *Acts*, and the last Verse, taught those things which concerned the Lord Jesus Christ

with

with all Confidence, or, which comes nearest to the Original, ἐβαρύνετο, with Vehemence and Warmth, and proved that Jesus was the Christ; and this, I make no Doubt of, was also the Subject of the Disputes which the same Apostle had in the School of *Tyrannus*, Acts xix. 9. and was likewise the Cause of the Tumult and Uproar which the *Jews* raised against St. *Paul*, at the xviiith of the Acts, and the 12th Verse; where we read, that "when *Gallio* was Deputy of *Achaia*, the "*Jews* made an Insurrection with one Accord "against *Paul*, and brought him before the Judg-"ment-seat, saying, This Fellow perswadeth Men "to worship God contrary to the Law. And "when *Paul* was about to open his Mouth, *Gallio* "said to the *Jews*, If it were a Matter of Wrong "or wicked Lewdness, O ye *Jews*, Reason would "be that I should bear with you; but if it be a "Question of *Words*, *Names*, and *your Law*, "look you to it, for I will be no Judge in such "Matters. And he drove them from the Judg-"ment-seat." Ver. 12——16.

But it is plain, this Tumult and Uproar did not stop there; so far from that, all the *Greeks* took *Sosthenes*, the Chief of the Synagogue, and beat him before the Judgment-seat, and *Gallio* cared for none of those things. Ver. 17.

Such then were the Disputes between the *Christians* and the *Jews*, and these I take to have been those bitter Contentions between them at *Rome*, which unprovoked the Emperor, and obliged him to publish that Edict which expelled the last from the Imperial City.

The next Reason you alledge why it is not likely that the *Jews*, at that time, should raise any Tumults and Disturbances upon the Account of Christ and his Doctrines at *Rome*, is, That when St. *Paul* himself came thither in the next Reign, the *Jews* seemed

to know very little of the Christian Religion, as appears from the 21st Verse of the last Chapter of the *Acts*; and that St. *Paul* himself, who remained there for the Space of two Years, did not meet with any Disturbance from the Heathens, or the *Jews*, but was suffered to preach without Molestation. To this it may, I think, be fairly replied, that the Number of *Jews* might then be very small at *Rome*, by reason of the Edict of Banishment pronounced against them in the late Reign by *Claudius*; and that those few, that then were there, might be upon their Guard, and carefully avoid all Clashes and Tumults, for fear of drawing a more heavy Censure and a severer Sentence upon them; a Check, a Restraint they might not be, nay they certainly were not under in the other Parts of the Empire, as appears by the Affair of *Sosthenes* I have already mentioned, the Uproar they made against St. *Paul*, and by the cruel Plot and wicked Confederacy they had made against the Life of that Apostle, *Acts* xxiii.

As to the other of your Arguments, that relates to St. *Paul*, namely, That, during the two Years that he remained at *Rome*, he did not meet with any Disturbance from the Heathen or the *Jews*, but was suffered to preach the Gospel without Let or Molestation, I answer, that his Case was particular: He was then actually a Prisoner at large, a Prisoner to the Emperor, and by consequence under the Protection of that Prince, who would not suffer him to be molested and persecuted upon the Account of his Religion, especially during the first five * Years of his Reign; when, being under the Advice and Direction of his Tutor *Seneca*, he shewed himself a mild, gracious, and merciful Prince, and was free from the Follies, Cruelties,

* It was, as Dr. *Hammond* observes, the second Year of *Nero*'s Empire, when St. *Paul* made his Appeal to that Prince.

and

and Extravagancies which afterwards sullied his Virtues, tarnished his former Character, and rendered him the Scourge of the World, and a Terror to Mankind. These Considerations therefore, the Fear of disobliging the Emperor, and drawing his Indignation upon them, nay the very Sight of the Soldier that guarded and attended St. *Paul*, might be a Check and Restraint upon them, and hinder them from insulting him, or giving him any Disturbance in the Discharge of his Ministry.

Your last Argument is in relation to *Suetonius*. You cannot think, Sir, that so judicious a Writer and so exact an Historian could be guilty of so gross a Synchronism, not to say, so notorious a Blunder, as to mention Christ as still alive in the Reign of *Claudius*; since he could not but have seen *Tacitus*, who expressly saith that Christ was put to death under *Tiberius*: *Auctor Nominis*, saith that Author, *Christus, qui, Tiberio imperitante, per Proconsulem Pontium Pilatum Supplicio affectus est. Tacit. Annal. Lib.* 15. This is what has long since, but without any Justice, been laid to the Charge of our Biographer, by two very learned Men; the first, *Sagittar*; in his Dissertation at *Jena*; the last, *Ditherus*, in his *Academ.* Tom. II. p. 14. And this, I mean the Saving the Credit of *Suetonius*, was what I believe led those great Men, *Usher*, *Vandale*, and *Le Clerc*, into the Opinion which I at present oppose. But the Light I have set the Matter in, and the Solution I have given to the Difficulty, will quite alter the State of the Question, and acquit that Writer of any Blunder and Mistake; namely, That the Words *Chresto Impulsore* can mean no more than those Tumults, Contentions, and continual Disputes which happened between the two contending Parties; such as St. *Paul* himself had at *Antioch*, and such as were brought before *Gallio* at the xviiith Chapter of the *Acts*: I say *continual* Disputes, as

appears by the Words *assidua* & *tumultuantes*, which plainly imply, not any sudden Rising and Tumult, but continued Jars and Wranglings between the *Christians* and the *Jews*. And this Remark upon the Word *assidue* is the first additional Proof of those I promised to produce in behalf of the Opinion I defend. My second is, the Silence of *Josephus*; which I conceive is not without some Weight; since it can hardly be imagined, that so judicious a Writer as *Josephus*, so exact and curious a Searcher into the History and Antiquities of his Nation, would not have taken notice of this pretended *Chrestus*, whether a *Roman* or a *Greek*, who must have been a considerable Man, to occasion an Edict from the *Roman* Emperor against the *Jews*. *Josephus*, I say, who gives such a particular Account of the several Tumults and Insurrections that happened among the *Jews*, of the Heads of the Factions, and of the Ringleaders that spirited them up to any Rising and Rebellion against the State, and who relates at large the History of their Lives, and the tragical Deaths they all underwent. As for Instance, the Disturbance made by *Judas* of *Galilee*, called the *Gaulonite*, who (when *Cyrenius*, the *Roman* Governor, by the Emperor's Order, took an Account of the People, in order to lay a *Census* or Tax upon the Nation) got great Numbers together, and raised a dangerous Insurrection, saying, that this Valuation of their Estates was made in order to bring a direct Slavery upon them; and therefore called the whole Nation to follow him, and to vindicate their Liberty and Laws. To the same Purpose, *De Bello Jud. Lib.* II. *Cap.* 12. he saith, that *Judas* led them to make a Rebellion, reproaching them, or making it a great Crime in them, if they should endure to pay Tribute to the *Romans*, and acknowledge mortal Rulers, after God had been their King and Governor. The same Writer likewise

relates the Death of the two Sons of this *Judas* of *Galilee*, who is likely had had a Hand in the Insurrection that was made by their Father, and whom *Alexander*, the Procurator, condemned to be nailed to a Croſs. Neither has *Joſephus* forgot the famous Impoſter *Theudas*, who getting vaſt Numbers of People together, perſuaded them, with all their Wealth and Effects, to follow him to the River *Jordan*, pretending himſelf to be a Prophet, and promiſing them, by the Wind of his Mouth, to divide that River into two Parts, and to give them a free Paſſage thro' the ſame. But the Prefect *Fadius*, to put a ſpeedy End to this frantick Madneſs, ſent his Horſe againſt them, killed great Numbers of them, made the reſt Priſoners, and *Theudas* the Ringleader among the reſt, whoſe Head he ordered to be cut off, and ſent to *Jeruſalem*. * *Joſeph. Antiq. Lib.* xx. *Cap.* 2. In the ſame Book *Joſephus* relates another dangerous Inſurrection raiſed by *Eleazar*, the Son of *Dinæus*, who plundered the Country, and exerciſed great Cruelties againſt the *Samaritans*, till *Cumanus*, the *Roman* General, marching againſt them with his own Troops, killed great Numbers of the Rebels, and the Head of the Party among the reſt, and made the others Priſoners. To mention no more Inſtances, he tells us that the ſame *Roman* General being informed by the *Samaritans*, that one *Dortus*, a

* It appears by this Paſſage of *Joſephus*, and by the Account of *Gamaliel*, at the vth of the *Acts*, and the 36th Verſe, that there were, at two different times, two *Theudas's*, Impoſtors, and Authors of Inſurrections in *Judea*. The firſt, mentioned by *Gamaliel*, appeared, as ſaith *Origen* againſt *Celſus*, before the Birth of Chriſt; and the ſecond, who is ſpoken of by *Joſephus*, and, 'tis likely, might be his Son, appeared under the Reign of *Claudius* and the Government of *Fadius*. But perhaps *Joſephus* did not exactly ſet down the Time, and might be miſtaken in his Account. Vid. *L'Enfant in Locum.*

Chief

Chief among the *Jews*, with four other great Men of the same Nation, had spirited up the People to a Rising and Rebellion against the State, marched directly against them, and gave them Battle; in which *Dorcas* and his Confederates miserably perished by the Sword. Now can it be supposed, that a Writer, who so particularly relates the several Insurrections of the *Jews* against the State, together with the History and tragical Ends of the Authors and Ringleaders of them, should not have made the least Mention of this *Chrestus*, if there was really such a one, who to be sure must have been a considerable Man, and a Person of great Power and Credit, to cause such an Insurrection, as to strike a Terror into the Emperor, and oblige him, by an Edict, to expell all the *Jews* from the City of *Rome*.

The last Argument I shall produce, and which I beg leave to lay some Stress upon, is the Testimony of the Fathers, and those very ancient ones, as *Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and *Justin Martyr*, who, living near the Time of *Suetonius*, could not but perfectly know the Meaning of that Writer. Now these admit the Words *Chrestus* and *Chrestotes* in the very Sense which I at present defend, and understand them of Christ and his holy Religion; and they were so far from being ashamed of those Names, that they prided themselves in them; and from them took an Occasion to display the Holiness of their Master, and the Purity and Excellency of his Religion. The Name of Christ, saith *Lactantius*, *de Suavitate & Benignitate compositum est*, is composed of Words that imply Sweetness and Goodness. *Lactant. Lib.* IV. *Cap.* 17. *Tertullian*, who lived about a hundred Years after our *Roman* Writer, declares that the Name of *Christians* is made up of Sweetness and Goodness; and why should a harmless and innocent Name, saith he, be hated and

detested

detested in those that were most harmless and innocent themselves? To go still higher, and to mention but one Father more, *Justin Martyr*, who lived but about fifty Years after *Suetonius*: He asserts, that Christians ought to be esteemed virtuous by the very Name they bear; and that τὸν Χρηστὸν μισεῖν δίκαιον οὐ δίκαιον, § *i. e.* that it is not lawful to hate Christ, or one who is merciful and good.

You will perhaps say, Sir, that this is a mere *Jeu de Mots*, a Jingling and Playing upon Words. I own it, Sir; but you know this kind of Witticism was what was very much in Vogue among the ancient Writers, what the Fathers themselves were apt to indulge themselves in, and *Justin Martyr* particularly seems to have been fond of. Thus, because λόγος signifies *Reason*, and also the Word that was made Flesh, he often plays upon the Word, and maintains, that those virtuous Men among the Ancients, as *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, and other Philosophers, who had directed their Lives by the Light of Reason, might be properly said to have known the λόγος, the Word, or Christ: And, in another Place, he calls all those ἀ Χριστοι, who did not govern themselves according to Reason; as if the Word had been really derived from ἀνευ Χριστου, *without Christ*. But this sort of Reasoning of the Fathers is liable to another very great Objection; since, besides that it was not very fair and conclusive, as grounded upon the Mistakes and Ignorance of the Heathen, it might, when discovered, very much prejudice the Cause of Christianity, and give a deep Wound to Religion; since 'tis certain, that one weak and ill-grounded Argument, in a Dispute, if it is once detected, does a Cause really more Harm, than ten of the best Proofs can do it Good.

§ Just. Apol. 2.

It

It may be replied, That *Justin* was willing here to make the best of his Cause, and to neglect no Advantage to set off the Goodness and Excellency of his Religion: and that this kind of pious Fraud, if you may so call it, is what some of the best Men have sometimes been guilty of.

*Dolus, an Virtus, quis in Hoste requirat?*

Thus even St. *Paul* himself, when he appeared before the *Jewish* Council, made no Scruple to join the Wisdom of the Serpent to the Simplicity of the Dove, when he declared, that it was for the Hope and Resurrection of the Dead that he was called in Question, *Acts* xxiii. 6. tho' he could not but know sensibly, that the *Jews* brought great and weighty Accusations against him. But in this he acted with a politick View. His Design was to divide his Enemies among themselves, and to sow Dissention between the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* in that Assembly: which succeeded according to his Wishes; since Division ran to such a Height, that the chief Captain was forced to come with a Band of Soldiers to defend him from Violence, and rescue him out of their Hands; by which Means he escaped Condemnation for that Time, and by consequence the Punishment that might have followed upon it. But the Remark I make on this Way of Reasoning of the Fathers does not so much affect *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*, who both of them ingeniously confess, that this Change of the Name of *Christus* into *Christian* was entirely owing to the Mistake and Ignorance of the *Romans* and the *Greeks*. However let it be as it will, let this Way of Arguing be right or wrong, it does not, I conceive, in the least affect the Point in Question, nor does it at all prejudice the Opinion which I defend. 'Tis enough for my Purpose, that this was the Notion these venerable Writers, who lived so near the Time of the *Roman* Historian, had of the Word *Chrestus*, which they understood

understood to signify the God of the Christians, the Lord and Saviour of the World. I know some learned Men have been of another Opinion, and have thought that the Name of *Chrestus* was by the Heathen applied to our Saviour by a Figure of Rhetoric called *Antonomasia*, by the Rule of Contraries, and by way of Satcasm and Reflection, instead of ὁ Χριστος; as the † Historian relates, that the *Romans* used to call the Emperor *Pertinax* Χρηστολογον, *quia bona semper loquebatur, & mala semper perpetrabat*; because that he who could say the finest Things, allowed himself in the Practice of the worst Things in the World. But as this Reason seems to be forced and far-fetched, it is more natural to suppose, that this Change of the Name was merely accidental, and owing to the Ignorance which the Heathen were under in relation to the *Christians* and the *Jews*. This *Tertullian* often complains of, saying, that they perpetually confounded the two Religions, and without any Reason cast the same Calumnies upon both; as the Worship of an Ass, for Instance, of which they first accused the *Jews*, and with equal Justice and Veracity laid afterwards to the Charge of the *Christians*, only to render them odious and contemptible to the World. So great was their Ignorance of the Matters of the two Religions, that *Lucian*, a considerable Writer among the *Greeks*, and who lived in a Country where many *Christians* and *Jews* might have set him right, and prevented his Mistakes, in his Life of *Peregrinus*, very gravely relates, that that Philosopher τὴν Σεμνὴν Σοφιαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐμαθε, τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ γραμματεῦσιν αὐτῶν συγγενόμενος, was instructed in the wonderful

† Capitolinus in Vita Pertinacis.

wonderful and amazing Doctrines of the *Christians* by the Converſation he had with Scribes and Prieſts of that Sect in the Country of *Paleſtine*: and yet ſuch an ignorant and unexact Writer, ſuch an Author as *Tacitus*, the moſt ſtupid and egregious Blunderer in theſe Matters that ever ſet Pen to Paper, ſhall, by the Unbelievers of the preſent Age, be quoted with Triumph and Applauſe, be thought good Evidence againſt the Chriſtian Religion, and be more firmly and readily believed than St. *Paul*, and the reſt of the Apoſtles, who lived in the very Places where they wrote, and were Eye-witneſſes of thoſe very Facts which they tranſmitted to Poſterity, and recorded in their Works.

Thus, Sir, I have, with my uſual Freedom, given you my Thoughts in relation to this famous Paſſage of the *Roman* Writer; ſorry that I cannot cloſe in with your Judgment, which, in ſome meaſure, gives me a meaner Opinion of my own. The Favour I ſhall beg of you is, that if you meet with any Errors and Miſtakes, as I fear you will find but too many in this little Piece of mine, with your wonted Friendſhip and Candour you will forgive and excuſe them. As for me, I ſhall never be aſhamed to own and mend my Faults, whenever I perceive them, and heartily to aſk Pardon for them: For, as it cannot but be a ſenſible Mortification to every honeſt Man, to have led others into Error by his own Faults and Miſtakes; ſo it muſt be the utmoſt Stupidity to be aſhamed to own them, and wilfully to perſiſt and perſevere in them: Since, as the *Roman* Orator, who was a great Judge of human Nature, very juſtly obſerves, *Humanum eſt errare; ſed in Errore perſeverare profectò belluinum eſt.* Cicero.

I ſhall here beg but one thing more; which is, That you would favour me with an Anſwer as ſoon

as

as conveniently you can; and if you have made any new Discoveries in relation to this Subject, *& si quid novisti rectius*, you would freely impart them to,

*SIR*,

*Your most*, &c.

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## ARTICLE XXII.

*A Dissertation on the* CYROPEDIA *of* XENOPHON. *Translated from the* French *of the Abbe* FRAGUIER.

THE History of *Cyrus* has been wrote very differently by three celebrated Authors; *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, and *Xenophon*. *Herodotus*, the most ancient of the three, and who was Cotemporary with *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, relates it after this manner:

*Astyages*, King of the *Medes*, gave his Daughter *Mandana* in Marriage to *Cambyses*, a *Persian* of an obscure Birth and Condition; and this he did, lest if he espoused her to any potent Sovereign, the Child he had by her should employ the Forces of his Father, to overturn the *Medean* Empire, as an Oracle had predicted. At that time the *Persians* were subject to the *Medes*, and made no great Figure in *Asia*. *Cyrus*, by a long Course of Wars and Victories, rendered them illustrious, and raised them to a Supremacy over their former Masters. *Astyages*, after a Reign of thirty-five Years, was dethroned by him; *Crœsus* was vanquished, and *Babylon* was taken after a long Siege. At last this great Conqueror, who knew how to raise so great a Do-

a Dominion, had an End put at once to his Triumphs and his Life, by *Tomyris*, Queen of the *Massagetæ*, after he had governed thirty-three Years.

*Ctesias* was of *Cnidus*, and lived at the same Time as *Xenophon*. He accompanied *Cyrus* in his Expedition against his Brother *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. He was taken Prisoner by that Prince; and being a skilful Physician, he was received into Favour, and lived at his Court fifteen Years with great Reputation. It was during this Space that, having consulted the *Persian* Records, he extracted from thence, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, the twenty Books which he compiled of the History of that Nation, spoken of by *Photius*. He is generally reputed a fabulous Writer, and he seems to have drawn up the Memoirs of *Cyrus* merely with a View of contradicting *Herodotus*; who affirms for himself, that knowing the several Ways in which the History of *Cyrus* had been delivered, he had adhered to that which he judged to be the truest. *Ctesias* pretends, that *Astyages*, far from being his Grandfather, had not the least Alliance with *Cyrus*; that he took the Daughter of *Astyages*, named *Amytis*, to Wife; and that the *Bactrians* voluntarily submitted themselves to his Dominion. He places the Expedition of *Cyrus* against the *Saca* after that of *Lydia*. In the latter, he tells us, *Cyrus* took *Croesus* Prisoner, and sent him into *Media*, where he gave him a great City in the Neighbourhood of *Ecbatana* for his Residence. He reports, that *Astyages* was murdered by a Messenger whom *Cyrus* sent to him; and that *Cyrus* himself, being wounded in a Battle with the *Dercæes*, died the third Day, after a Reign of thirty Years.

*Xenophon*, in the eighth Book of his *Cyropædia*, has given the Life of *Cyrus* quite different from both the

chief Orders; after as they having followed the Body, and the Sequel in their Fore to pass by a Manner made of Matter in the first place, he has inserted *Cyaxares* between *Astyages* and *Cyrus*, among the Median Emperors; whereas *Cyrus*, immediately succeeding *Astyages*, as *Cresias* agrees with *Herodotus* in all things else in almost every other Circumstance has affects to oppose him. Secondly, the Testimony of both these Authors manifestly proves the Death of *Cyrus* to have been in a Way very different from that which *Xenophon* has assigned, when he makes him die in the midst of Peace, and in the Embraces of his Family. These Disagreements, and a great many others, are the Reason why neither *Diodorus Siculus*, nor *Trogus Pompeius*, nor *Justin*, have agreed with *Xenophon* in his Narrative, but have unanimously preferred *Ctesias* and *Herodotus* before him. And this likewise made *Cicero* say in his first Epistle to his Brother *Quintus*, that "*Xenophon*, in his History of *Cyrus*, has not "guided the Moral of his Story more than the "Truth of it: His Intention therein being chiefly "to present us with the Model of a wise and good "Administration." *Petavius* and *Joseph Scaliger*, two Men as least as capable as *Cicero* to decide in Matter of History or Chronology, are entirely of the same Opinion. The first, in the tenth Book of his *Doctrina Temporum*, expresses himself in this manner: "For Xenophon, the Panegyrist rather "than the History of Cyrus." and *Scaliger*, in the Prolegomena to his Treatise *de Emendatione Temporum*, maintains, that, "excepting proper Names, "and two or three Events which he has preserved "the Remembrance of, such as the Defeat of

[1] Xenophontem dimovi, qui Panegyrin de Cyro potius quam Historiam edidit, consulto preterimus.

" *Croesus*, and the Taking of *Babylon*, we find no " more Truth in the *Cyropædia*, than in the Fictions " of *Heliodorus*.

The oppoſite Opinion, however, does not want its Defenders, who can hardly ſuffer, that a Book written with ſuch extraordinary Art, and abounding with ſuch excellent Maxims, ſhould be reputed not ſo much a Hiſtory, as a ſet of Precepts: not conſidering, that theſe moral Inſtructions, placed in ſo agreeable a Light as they are, have their proper Merit, and that there is more Glory in being a Philoſopher than an Hiſtorian. But after all, *Cicero*'s Sentiment upon this Head has generally prevailed; and it is to offer a new Evidence in its Favour that I endeavour in this Diſſertation to lay open the Foundation of the *Cyropædia*. The moſt probable Account of which is as follows.

The *Cyropædia* may be regarded as containing two Things: The Life of *Cyrus* from his Birth to his Death; and, occaſionally, an Infinity of the wiſeſt Inſtructions, both for War and for Peace, adapted equally to the Condition of Subjects and Sovereigns. In the firſt place, all we find relating to Morality in the *Cyropædia*, is nothing but the Doctrine of *Socrates*, who was *Xenophon*'s Maſter. Secondly, what we ſee there of an hiſtorical Nature, ſerves only to introduce and convey the Moral; as in our beſt Romances, the real Facts ſerve only to uſher in the fabulous, and are always accommodated to that Intention. And with that View it was that *Xenophon* preferred *Cyrus*, before other Heroes, for his Subject, becauſe his Memoirs, as I have already obſerved after *Herodotus*, had been ſo variouſly related. The Obſcurity of remote Time, and the Incertitude ariſing from ſuch a Diverſity of Reports, gave him an Opportunity of ſelecting and adjuſting ſuch Incidents as would beſt anſwer his Deſign. He knew how to apply the ſeveral Accounts of

*Cyrus*

*Cyrus* then extant, to the very Purpose that his own Work has served in our Times: But with this Difference, that in suiting the Events to his Scheme, he thought of nothing but inspiring his Readers with the Love of Virtue; whereas our modern Romancers seem to have had no other Prospect in their Compositions, but of amusing us with a Parcel of frivolous Adventures, and Tales of Galantry. And certainly the Choice which *Xenophon* made was a very happy one: For, as the Author of *Astrea* has chosen for the Place of his Adventure a delicious and peaceful Retirement, because the Scene should always correspond with the Transaction it refers to; so *Xenophon*, being to recommend a harsh and austere Education, selected his Exemplar from a rude and sterile Country, and from among a People altogether occupied in Hunting or Pasturage: For so they are represented by *Plato* in his Book of Laws; who also observes, that Subjection was easy and agreeable to them, seeing that the Superiors and Inferiors were united by Affection rather than Duty; and that *Cyrus* himself did not disdain to hearken to the Advice of the meanest, and would freely discourse even with the Soldiers of his Army. *Xenophon*, in the Nature and Climate of the Country, and in the Disposition of the People, found a proper Foundation for his System of Education; and his Manner of Writing furnished him with Opportunities of introducing into his Narrative all those excellent Truths which he had imbibed from the Conversation of his illustrious Preceptor.

In his Way of Reasoning, if I may so express myself, *Xenophon*, as *Scaliger* has remarked, followed the Pattern of the most celebrated Sophists of those Times; who, to give the greater Weight and Authority to their Documents, delivered them as from the Mouths of those deceased Heroes, whose Memory was held in greatest Veneration; and pre-



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tended, for Instance, that *Nestor*, *Ulysses*, and *Palamedes*, being at the Siege of *Troy*, had on several Occasions said such and such Things; which, in reality, were only the Sentiments or Speeches of the Writers themselves. We have divers Examples of this in *Plato*, as we may see in the first *Hippias*, and in his *Phædrus*: For in the former of these this famous Sage invites *Socrates* to hear him recite a Discourse concerning those Exercises to which a young Man ought to apply himself, and tells him, the Manner of that Discourse is such as I am now speaking of: Thus he says, "After the Destruction "of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, *Neoptolemus* addressing him- "self one Day to *Nestor*, demanded of him, what "Exercises were most becoming a young Prince. "Whereupon *Nestor* makes a Reply to the Querist, "filled with all the fine Ideas that *Hippias* could ima- "gine upon so noble a Subject. And in the *Phædrus*, "*Socrates* asks the Youth whose Name the Dia- "logue bears, if he was not acquainted with the "Art of Rhetorick which *Nestor* and *Ulysses* com- "posed in their leisure Hours, while they were at the "Siege of *Troy*; to which *Phædrus* answers, that he "knew of no Writings either of *Nestor* or *Ulysses*, "unless by *Nestor* he meant *Gorgias*, and by *Ulysses*, "*Thrasymachus* or *Theodorus*." In much the same agreeable Way has the late Archbishop of *Cambray* compiled his incomparable *Telemachus*, which was drawn up for the Instruction of the young Princes of *France*, in the Year 1707, when *Lewis* XIV. had a numerous Issue living.

Moreover, *Xenophon*, who was very indifferently affected to the *Persians* of his Time, was well enough pleased to retrieve the Memory of certain Customs of their Ancestors, of which only some weak Traces and disfigured Footsteps then remained among their degenerate Posterity. Accordingly he has taken care to close the *Cyropædia* with an odious Comparison

Comparison between the modern and ancient Inhabitants, and to point out, as conspicuously as he could, whatever he had observed to the Disadvantage of the former, when he passed through the Country with *Agesilaus* or the younger *Cyrus*. And hereby he gratified the whole Body of the *Greeks*, who considered the *Persian* Monarch, whom they styled *The Great King*, as their most formidable Enemy.

To justify this Hypothesis touching the *Cyropædia*, we are only to inquire whether it in reality contains the *Socratic* Doctrine: For if, on one hand, the Actions of *Cyrus* are therein related in a Manner different from that of his other Historians, and with Circumstances peculiarly suited to the Intention here supposed; and if, on the other hand, we perceive therein a System of Ethics, of which we have no Traces before *Socrates*, who was unquestionably the Author of it; there seems to be a good Foundation for what we advance, of this fine Performance's being in truth no other than a Romance, calculated for exhibiting a noble Example, and recommending the Pursuit of true Glory.

Now it is certain that the Sentiments of *Socrates*, and those which we find throughout the *Cyropædia* are precisely the same. However, as we have nothing, whereon we can ground a Parallel in this Case, but what *Plato* and *Xenophon* furnish us; it is plain, that we should rather compare the *Cyropædia* with the Memoirs of *Socrates* by *Xenophon*, than with the Dialogues of *Plato*; tho' in those we meet with the same Ideas as in the former, when we survey them closely. Notwithstanding, it is in the *Socrates* of *Xenophon* that we should look for those Sentiments which he has spread through his *Cyropædia*, both because this is the direct and shortest Course, and because it was natural for *Xenophon* to paint

paint this Philosopher after his own Conception of him.

Every one knows that these two celebrated Persons were *Socrates*'s Disciples; both had derived from him the Principles of their Morality, and both have transmitted them to later Ages in their own immortal Writings. But as these Principles did not make exactly the same Impression on the Minds of these two illustrious Pupils, so they have delivered them to us with some Diversity, according as they respectively apprehended them. And it is really at once an agreeable, and an useful Employment, to observe the different Turn and Air which the same Discourse has taken, according to the different Genius of the Hearers: As the same Seeds are productive of stronger or more beautiful Plants, according to the Nature of the Soil they grow in.

*Socrates* finding Philosophy entirely busied in the Contemplation of Nature, and in those Researches that were aptest to attract the Admiration of Mankind, naturally fond of those things they are ignorant of, and which have no Tendency to promote their real Happiness; *Socrates*, I say, perceiving this, was the first who applied himself to Morality, and instead of inspiring Men with abstract Notions, thought only of rectifying their Manners; not imagining he could reap any Glory by feeding their Curiosity. In the Science of human Nature he knew how to find an Idea of its Perfection; and by closely following that, as a sure Guide, he discovered the Source of its true Felicity.

*Plato*, on his part, who had fully comprehended the whole Extent of his divine Master's Principles, has given us a very clear Explication of them in his Dialogue on Justice, usually called his *Republick*. He there resembles a Man to a complete Commonwealth; and as the Welfare of a State

State consists in the Harmony of all its Constituents, and a due Subordination of the Members to their Head and Sovereign; in like manner the Excellency and Happiness of every Individual proceeds, as he evinces, from the same Cause; *viz.* the maintaining a proper Order with reference to the Faculties of the Soul, and a becoming Subserviency to each other. For he there shews that the Soul, simple as it is, may be justly regarded as composed of three distinct Parts, which are as so many different Principles, the Springs of our Dispositions and all the Actions of our Lives. The first of these three in Dignity and Excellency is the Understanding, whose Province it is to regulate the others. The second is that, which being capable of impetuous Emotions, is however of itself indifferent to Good or Evil, and is subject to any Determination that is given it, whether that Bias proceeds from Reason or the Affections. The third is the Region of the Passions, which neither are at Peace among themselves, nor agree with the other Powers, but are perpetually combating one another, and striving for Dominion, instead of submitting as they ought to do.

Now, in the Judgment of *Socrates*, the Perfection and the Happiness of Mankind lies in the Subjection of the other Parts of the Soul to the Intellect; that Ray of the Divinity, that *Dæmon* or familiar Spirit, which, as an especial Favour to our Species, is bestowed upon us at our Birth, to govern our Appetites, and to regulate the whole Course of our Lives. And for subduing the Passions, it has a Right to employ the Assistance of the irascible Part, as the Sovereign of a Kingdom makes use of the military Force, to retain his Vassals in that Allegiance from which they are so forward to revolt; ever upon the Watch, to prevent its being vanquished and enthralled by the Passions, as by a



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mand and rebellious Populace. From this Principle thoroughly explained, and exhibited under sensible Images, we may easily, with *Plato*, deduce the Definitions of all Virtues and Vices, and draw infallible Rules for deciding the Merit of Things, even of those, which, by strongly engaging our Admiration, are apt to dazzle our Reason, and render it incapable of forming just Notions of the Value of them. It may be added, that by walking in that Path which this internal Light discovers, and takes out, we may arrive at the highest Summit of Perfection that we can possibly attain to.

This is in brief the Basis of *Socrates*'s Discourses. All the Beauties we perceive in them are no other than Emanations from this fertile and luminous Principle. And it is a great Mistake to imagine, that in *Plato*'s Dialogues, *Socrates*, who is almost throughout the principal Speaker, never expresses his own Opinions, but comes to embarrass his Adversary with repeated Difficulties, reserves to himself only the Perception of Truth, without the least Desire or Pains to inspire it into the Minds of others, or to free them from those Perplexities, which he rather increases, by the Craftiness of his Questions, and the Subtlety of his Objections. For in the Dialogue where *Plato* introduces him speaking on the Subject of Justice, that is to say, on the Foundation of all Morality, he delivers himself upon that Head with the utmost Freedom and Perspicuity. And if in other Dialogues, Irony that favourite Figure with him, and which he has so happily made use of, to refute the ridiculous Fancies of the Sophists, does not permit him always to establish his own Doctrine, we need only recollect this Consideration, to perceive it at the first Glance, and instantly to apprehend what is not perhaps so fully expressed. But to return to *Xenophon*.

to I have

I have been often tempted to think, that he wrote his *Cyropædia* purely for the sake of setting forth the Doctrine of *Socrates*, conformable to his usual Taste, as *Plato* in his *Republic* has delivered it in a Way more suitable to his peculiar Genius and Comprehension. And, to say the Truth, if he wrote in Emulation of *Plato*; as is highly probable, his Judgment is greatly to be praised, for chusing a Method, as he has done, so excellent in itself, and so attractive of the Esteem and Admiration of all Parties. For as in *Plato*'s Dialogue on Justice, there are but few Speakers, and indeed scarcely any thing is said, from Beginning to End, but by *Socrates*; undoubtedly *Xenophon* could not but think it might engage the Attention of Mankind, and present them with somewhat vastly preferable as to the Manner of it, if with the Recital of some grand Atchievements, proper in themselves to charm and delight the Readers, he should intermix such Speeches and Conferences as his Subject naturally suggested, abounding with familiar Instructions, and delivered with the Ease and Delicacy of an elegant Conversation. In short, he was persuaded, that if he could unite in one Composition the Sweetness of a noble and polite Narration, the Beauties of Dialogue, and the Solidity of moral Precepts, he must equal, if not surpass, the Performances of *Plato*, in which only one of these presents itself, I mean the Beauty of Dialogue. He well knew that Men were naturally fond of History, and moreover that occasional and seemingly unpremeditated Reflections affect the Imagination more agreeably, than such as we direct and elaborate. In consequence of this, *Xenophon* has given Life and Motion as it were to the *Republic* of *Socrates*, moulding it after the Idea he had formed thereof in his own Fancy, and thereby, as far as in him lay, fulfilled the Desire which that Philosopher expresses at the Entrance

of

of the *Timæus*, where he expatiates on the Pleasure it would be to see that great System he is treating of in Motion, as a Person beholding a Picture of divers Animals, wishes they were endued with Life, and in Action.

But whether or no the Intention of *Xenophon* were precisely such as is here supposed, which is an Opinion, however natural in itself, that may not, I own, be so easily proved to the Satisfaction of others; it must be allowed, that the Philosophy of *Socrates* had made a much stronger Impression, and taken a far deeper Root in the Mind of *Plato*, than in that of *Xenophon*. I shall offer but one Example for the Confirmation of this Assertion; but it will be such a one, as is sufficient in a few Words to prove it.

The Sciences in which Speculation has the chief Share, as those of Geometry and Numbers, are adapted to the following Purposes: One is the Perfection of manual Arts; the other consists in estranging the Soul from sensible Objects, by habituating it to abstract and purely intellectual Ideas; and thereby raising our Nature, as far as this corporeal Life will permit, to that State of Perfection which the Spirit will be sensible of, when, disengaged from the Prison of the Body, it is restored to its native Purity and Freedom: when being no longer infected with the Contagion which it derives from its Union with the mortal Part, and delivered from the Perturbation of the Passions, it shall be at Liberty, in a Condition of absolute Repose, to contemplate those eternal Verities, of which here it has only a very faint Conception.

The whole Scheme of *Socrates* leads us to consider the more elevated Sciences, with a View to this last noble End. And it is likewise in respect of this, that in the seventh Book of the *Republic* he recommends a diligent Study of them. *Xenophon*, on the contrary, although illuminated with the same Rays

that

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that *Plato* was, did not make the very same Use of them. And when in his *Memorable Things of* SOCRATES, he makes him discourse of Geometry or Arithmetick, you find nothing in his Speeches uncommon, or above the ordinary Level. *Xenophon* has never exalted his Views beyond the vulgar Pitch; whether because being accustomed to Business, and not greatly disposed to, or enjoying a due Leisure for Meditation, he was not disposed to quit the beaten Road; whether it were that he could not hope to obtain the Prize in a Race where *Plato* had acquitted himself so gloriously; or whether in reality it were, that his Capacity was not adequate to so extensive a System, is somewhat uncertain: For to comprehend a Truth, so as to have a thorough Conception of all its Consequences, requires the Eyes of the Mind to be as strong and penetrating, as those of the Body should be to look stedfastly on the Sun: and we cannot refuse *Plato* the Honour of this Advantage.

Instances of this Disparity of intellectual Abilities are to be found every Day among Persons pursuing the same Studies. Thus, let two Men apply themselves to the Reading of *Plato*'s Dialogues, one of them, naturally prone to Reflection, and with a Taste for the sublimest Philosophy, shall imbibe all its Principles, and, without neglecting either the Beauty of Style, or the fine Structure of the Discourse, shall take in the intire Plan both of Logic and Ethics that is comprised in them: The other shall enter only into the easiest Parts, be delighted with particular Turns and Sentiments, and his Imagination being charmed with the Graces that are so conspicuous, either in the Exordium, or some peculiarly laboured Passages, he will express himself in such Strains, as to pass among the generality of Hearers for a great Proficient in the Learning of the Ancients; while among the truly knowing he will appear

appear no better than a mere Smatterer in that ſort of Literature.

This laſt is the proper Character of *Xenophon's* Genius; and with theſe Diſpoſitions he collected the *Memorabilia* of *Socrates*; which were only a Magazine to ſupply Materials for the Compoſition of the *Cyropædia*. But if we had no other Remains of the *Socratic* Philoſophy but theſe Performances, we ſhould be able at this Day to form but a very imperfect Notion thereof. To frame a true Judgment of it thereby, would require more Skill than is requiſite for an Architect to deduce all the Members and Proportions of a ruined Edifice from ſome remaining Fragments. One muſt, for Example, collect all that I have been ſaying of the *Republic*, from a ſlight Sketch only which we find in the ſixth Book of the *Cyropædia*, when *Araſpes* expoſes his Weakneſs to *Cyrus*, and confeſſes to that Prince, that his Virtue was inſufficient to reſiſt the Impreſſion which the Sight of *Panthea* had made on his Affections. "I am now, ſays he, thoroughly "convinced that I have two Souls. This is a new "Philoſophy, which Love, that grand Sophiſter, "has taught me. In ſhort, if I had but one Soul, "it could not be at once virtuous and vicious, be- "enamoured of Good and Evil, or chuſe to do "what at the ſame time it wiſhed to be undone. "This clearly proves that I have two Souls: When "the good one has the Aſcendant, I do as I ought; "when the bad one has the Superiority, my Ac- "tions correſpond with the Malignity of it. But "now, ſays he to *Cyrus*, that I have your Aſſiſt- "ance, my good Soul retains the Maſtery.

From what we find in *Xenophon* concerning the Nature of the Soul, one muſt likewiſe proceed ſtep by ſtep to all the other Proofs of its Immortality which *Plato* makes *Socrates* inſiſt on: For *Cyrus* is repreſented on his Death-bed ſpeaking to thoſe about him

him on this Topic, almoſt in the ſame Strain as we find in the fourth Book of the *Memorable Things of Socrates*, and more at large in *Plato's Philebus*, in his tenth Book of Laws, and in *Cicero's* Oration for *Milo*, where that Orator appropriates what he had read in *Plato*, whoſe Sentiments, which in Ethics, were no other than thoſe of *Socrates*, he regarded as Oracles. Here is the entire Paſſage; in which it is eaſy to perceive the Opinion of *Socrates* concerning the Nature of the Soul, and the very ſame Thoughts as he uttered in his Diſcourſe addreſſed at the Time of his Death to thoſe of his Judges who had acquitted him: Which Circumſtances ſerve very much to confirm what I have been advancing. "My "Friends, ſays *Cyrus*, I could never imagine that "the Soul lives while it is confined to a mortal "Body, and that it dies when ſeparated from it. "I ſee plainly, that while it abides with it, it is the "Cauſe of its Living and Dying. But I cannot "believe that it ceaſes to think and to reaſon, when "diſmiſſed from the Fleſh, which of itſelf is utterly "incapable of Reaſoning or Diſcourſe. On the "contrary, when the Mind is pure and abſtracted "from Matter, then are its Powers moſt vigorous, "the Underſtanding more illuminated, and its Ideas "more refined. Conſider likewiſe, that when the "Body is diſſolved, each Part of its Subſtance re-"turns viſibly to its own Element. It is the Soul "only which is inviſible, both while it reſides "here, and when it departs." And after ſome other Expreſſions of the like Import, he adds, "If this "be the Caſe, and if my Soul really ſurvives this "Body, let your Affection to it prompt you to do "what I have deſired. But if I am deceived in "my Hope of Immortality, and that Death whol-"ly extinguiſhes my Exiſtence, fear the Gods nor-"withſtanding, who never die, who ſee all things, "and whoſe Power is infinite.

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To have a juſt Notion of the *Socratic* Doctrine contained in theſe Paſſages, ſo as to be able to reduce it into a Syſtem, what a great deal of Time and Application muſt be ſpent in the Reading of the *Timæus*, the *Phædo*, the *Meno*, the *Republic*, the *Phædrus*, the *Gorgias*, and the other Works of *Plato* which I have cited!

Theſe are the only Samples of *Plato*'s *Socrates* that are to be met with in the *Cyropædia*. Every where elſe it is the *Socrates* of *Xenophon* that we encounter, ſuch as he has repreſented him in the fourth and fifth Books of *Memorable Things*: Or, if here and there we eſpy a Trace of the *Republic*, it appears, not as in *Plato*, but with the Difference which the Tempers of theſe two Diſciples impreſſed on the Leſſons of their Maſter, when they retailed them.

*Socrates*, in the Dialogue on Juſtice, being obliged to draw the Plan of a perfect Commonwealth, in order to ſhew wherein Juſtice conſiſts (becauſe having ſeen it at large, as one may ſay, in a State, it might be diſtinguiſhed more exactly in the Individuals of a Society; in like manner as a Perſon having read a Thing in great Characters, may the more eaſily read the ſame when deſcribed in ſmaller) *Socrates*, I ſay, in *Plato*, has conſtituted his Republic in ſuch wiſe, that, not ſatisfied with breeding up the Subjects in a hard and laborious Courſe of Life, to render them good Soldiers, his Views extended to the making them wiſe Men, and capable of the Functions of Government, according to the ſublimeſt Heights of true Wiſdom; being perſuaded that the World could be happy only under the Adminiſtration of Philoſophers. *Xenophon*, on his part, draws up a Scheme of the *Perſian* Education ſomewhat reſembling this of *Socrates*. In his Plan, no more than in that of *Plato*, was Education an arbitrary thing, or left in the Hands of ignorant Relations;

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Relations; but one of the principal Objects of that Concern which the Magistrate ought to exercise for the publick Welfare. They would both of them have different Classes instituted, suited to several Ages; into which each particular Person should be admitted, by a gradual Progression, in proportion to his respective Improvements, or be degraded in case of Incapacity or Degeneracy; that so by this means being properly maturated, they might be qualified for the Government both of themselves and others. The Care of instructing Children in a manner that is suitable to the Tenderness of their Years, and of instilling into them insensibly, and as in a way of Recreation, the Seeds of all that Knowledge which is necessary for the future Conduct of their Lives, is equal in both. And it is reasonable to think, that *Xenophon*, in what he advances upon this Head in the *Cyropædia*, had the same Purpose as *Socrates* in the first *Alcibiades*, who has there exhibited a complete Education, which he makes to be that of the *Persian* Princes, purely to excite the Emulation of his Pupil, and shew him the Difference between an accomplished Breeding and that which he had under his Tutor *Pericles*. *Plato* and *Xenophon*, in Agreement with *Socrates*, were persuaded that the Fate of our Lives, in a great measure, depends on the Bias that is given us at our first setting out. And on this Score perhaps it is, that *Xenophon*, determining to begin with *Cyrus* in his very Cradle, and to conduct him from thence to the last Moment of his Life, entitles his Work, not the *History of* Cyrus, but the *Education of* Cyrus, CYROPOEDIA; to let us understand, that the first Impressions made on him in his Infancy, had produced all the heroic Fruits for which he was afterwards so universally admired.

However, *Xenophon*, having borrowed only those Principles of *Socrates* which tend to inspire Men with

any more than *Minos* and *Lycurgus*,

be applied under Apology which was suggested for Cyrus by Ignis.

Nothing yet need but upon the Conquests to find therein diverse Passages of the Memoirs of Socrates written by Xenophon. For instance, there on the Discourse of moral Affections, under Pretence of Love, on the oeconomical Virtues, proper and General, of the Knowledge requisite to that End, and a thousand other Topics that it would be needless to mention. In every Instance observe that Xenophon retains the very Tone of the Dialogue, and repeats almost Word for Word in his Composition what he had set down in the former Work. Witness that Place in which Cyaxares is speaking of the military Art. I will recite Part of it, as it appears in both Treatises. In the third Book of Memorable Sayings, Socrates addressing himself to a young Man, who had been learning the Science of War, asks him, what his Master had taught him? To which the Scholar replies, "That he had instructed him how "to order an Army, in the Articles of Marching, "Encamping, and Engaging. But this, says "Socrates, is Part only of the Business of a Gene- "ral: For he is moreover to take care of his Men "Apparel, and to furnish them with necessary "Accommodations: He must be of an inventive, la- "borious, diligent, patient, and sprightly Disposi- "tion: He must be equally humane and rigo- "rous: He must know how to prosecute his own "Designs, and to make himself Master of his Ene- "my's: He must be ready both to expend and to "plunder: He must be generous and frugal: In a "Word, to succeed, he must have a thousand other "Qualities, natural and acquired." The young Man, afterwards, to shew Socrates a Specimen of what he had learned, tells him, "That it was a "Maxim of his Master's, to place the bravest "Men in the Front and in the Rear of an Army."

and alledges several Reasons which appeared to authorise that Practice. "He has shewn you then, "says *Socrates*, how to distinguish the good and "the bad Soldiers. No verily, replies the young "Man, he has said nothing to me upon that Subject. But after all, says *Socrates*, when your "Preceptor described the several Ways of ranging "an Army, he certainly told you in what Cases "you must respectively make use of the one and "the other. The young Man answers, Not at "all. And yet, replies *Socrates*, it is according "to the Exigency of different Circumstances that "the Order of an Army is to be varied. However "that be, says the young Man, he never mentioned "any thing to me about it."

The Passage in the *Cyropædia*, which may be considered as parallel with the foregoing, is at the End of the first Book; where *Cyrus* says to *Cambyses*, who was conducting him to the Confines of *Persia*, "One "Day, when I entreated you to confer some Favour on the Person who had instructed me in the "Affairs of War, after granting my Request, you "were pleased to ask me, whether that Master "had given me any Lessons in Oeconomicks; for "Soldiers, said you, must be provided for in like "manner as the Servants of a private Family. "And when I had assured you that he had not "given me the least Hint of that Nature, you demanded, whether he had discoursed with me of "the Means for preserving an Army from Distempers; I confessed he had never uttered a Syllable to me upon that Head. Which occasioned "you to ask me, what were the things he had "taught me; whereto I replied, Nothing but "how to manage a Battle: Which you then smiled "at; and afterwards proved to me, that though I "could dispose an Army never so well for Battle, "it would be of very little Consequence, if I did

"not

" not know how to furnish it with Provisions, to " preserve it from Diseases, and to maintain a due " Discipline amongst the Soldiery." It is needless to cite any more of this Conversation, which is throughout in the same Strain, and corresponds in all Points with what we find in the *Memorable Things of* Socrates, and in some Places of *Plato's Republic*. What has been offered is sufficient to establish an Hypothesis which seemed to me extremely probable, and add a new Evidence in support of an Opinion, which is that of *Cicero* and the greatest Criticks. The Reader will find something very like a Demonstration of it in the Books I have here quoted, if he peruse them with Attention; and I flatter myself he will scarcely fail of being surprised, that no one has hitherto examined the *Cyropædia* in the Manner I have here done.

*Xenophon* himself one would think had purposely given us some Indication of his Design in the eighth Book; for in a Conference between *Cyrus*, *Gobryas*, and *Hystaspes*, *Gobryas* having argued in a Manner exceedingly becoming a Philosopher, *Cyrus* turning himself to *Hystaspes*, asked him, with some Emotion, if he had minded *Gobryas's* fine Reasoning; " Yes, certainly, replied *Hystaspes*, " and if such Discourse is customary with him, it " will be a stronger Motive for my courting his " Daughter, than the Promise of a great Fortune " would be. Well, then, said *Gobryas*, I have a " deal of *such things* in Writing, which I will com- " municate to you very readily." May not one very reasonably believe, that by *such things*, *Xenophon*, in the Person of *Gobryas*, intended to point out the memorable Words of *Socrates*, which the Comparison we have made between them and the *Cyropædia* proves to be the Materials from whence the latter was composed.

But beside the Doctrine of that Philosopher, which is the Basis of the *Cyropædia*, *Xenophon* could not deny himself the Pleasure of entering therein also into Particulars of his History and of the Cause of his Death. Thus *Cyrus* talking with the King of *Armenia*, whom he had taken Prisoner, and *Tigranes* his Son, applying himself to the latter, inquired of him, what was become of that "gallant Man, whom he remembered to have formerly hunted with them, and for whom *Tigranes* "seemed to have so great a Respect. Alas! answered *Tigranes*, are you the only Person unacquainted with his Catastrophe, and my Father's "rigorous Treatment of him? What, says *Cyrus*, was the Occasion of it? *Tigranes* replied, My "Father was possessed with a Notion of his giving me evil Counsel; whereas he was so upright and "good a Man, that when he was just expiring, he "called for me, and said to me these very Words: "Let not my Death, *Tigranes*, prejudice you "against the King, seeing his Usage of me proceeded not from any Malice, but from a mistaken "Opinion; and I look upon a Thing done thro' "Ignorance, as contrary to the Actor's Intention." [The Sentiment of *Socrates* exactly.] "Alas! good "Man, cried *Cyrus*." Whereupon the King of *Armenia*, willing to defend himself, said thus: "When a Husband sees a Fellow whom he finds "wheedling his Wife, it is not because he is displeased at any Refinement of her Wit or Behaviour, which might be the Effect of such gallant "Conversation, but because it tends to deprive him "of that Affection which she ought to have for him "only. Now such a Jealousy I had of that Man, "because it seemed that my Son honoured him "more than he did me." Since, said *Cyrus* to "him, you think in regard of this Matter as the

generality of People do. But however, *Tigranes*, if you will excuse your Father.

Can any one, who is at all verſed in *Plato* and *Xenophon*, fail of diſcovering in this Story the Adventure of *Socrates*, a little altered; who, according to the expreſs Words of *Xenophon*, was put to death on this very Accuſation; "That, inducing "young People to look upon him as the wiſeſt of "Men, and the moſt capable of conducting others "in the ſure Road to Wiſdom, he made them "fancy the reſt of Mankind was nothing in compa-"riſon with him." This was his Crime, in reality; as for the others imputed to him, they were only ſham Pretences to warrant the puniſhing of this. Finally, in examining this Paſſage of the *Cyropædia* cloſely, one cannot, in the Advice *Cyrus* gives *Tigranes* to forgive his Father, but perceive a tacit Reproach on *Plato*, for having too much expoſed the Diſgrace of his Country, and the Folly and Baſeneſs of his Fellow-citizens, in the Condemnation of *Socrates*. I know many have thought there was no good Underſtanding between *Plato* and *Xenophon*; which Opinion is grounded principally upon certain Fragments of Letters attributed to the latter, a little unworthy of him. But theſe Epiſtles are perhaps as far from genuine, as the generality of others that are attributed to that Age; and moreover, it is undeniable, that *Xenophon*, in the third Book of the *Memoirs of Socrates*, has mentioned *Plato* with Honour, ſaying, "*Socrates* had a "great Affection for *Glaucon*, for the ſake of *Plato* "and *Charmides*, which *Glaucon* was *Plato*'s Bro-"ther." But, whatever Foundation there may be for the Report of theſe Great Men being upon ill Terms with, or envying each other, if it produced in *Xenophon* the Reſolution of compiling the *Memorable Sayings of* Socrates, and the *Cyropædia*,

we must agree, with an ancient Writer, that *Jealousy in noble Minds is advantageous to the Publick.*

## ARTICLE XXIII.

*Discourses concerning the Being and natural Perfections of* GOD; *in which that first Principle of Religion, the Existence of the Deity, is proved, from the Frame of the* MATERIAL WORLD, *from the* ANIMAL *and* RATIONAL LIFE, *and from* HUMAN INTELLIGENCE, *and* MORALITY; *and the Divine Attributes of* SPIRITUALITY, UNITY, ETERNITY, IMMENSITY, OMNIPOTENCE, OMNISCIENCE, *and* INFINITE WISDOM, *are explained. By* JOHN ABERNETHY, M. A. Dublin: *Printed for* John Smith, *on the* Blind Quay; *and sold in* London, *by* J. Longman *in* Pater-noster-Row. 1740. Octavo. *Pages* 400.

AFTER all the excellent Discourses that have been published on this grand and important Subject, these cannot fail of being considered with Distinction by the most judicious Readers, with respect both to the Reasoning and Style. This will not be thought a Character too favourable, when the following Extracts are perused; notwithstanding their Beauty is in some measure impaired, by their being separated from those preceding, intermediate, and subsequent Passages, which naturally conspire with these to form a regular and connected

nected System. I shall pass over a hundred things, even unnoticed, that well deserve our Attention; and in the Citations here made, many *Hiatus's* are perceivable, which in the Original are filled up in such a manner, as, if it does not strengthen, confers at least a Grace and Dignity upon the Argument.

Our first Quotation is selected from the second Sermon; wherein Mr. *Abernethy* proves the Existence of the Deity from the *animal and rational Life*, from *Rom.* i. 19, 20.

"The main Point in Debate between us (says "he) and the Atheist, is concerning the Intelli- "gence of the Supreme Being. They will not de- "ny, that something must have existed from Eter- "nity, either the World in its present Form, or "the Materials of it put into Form by Chance or "Necessity; they will acknowledge too, that the "eternal self-existent Being must be called, in some "sense, the Cause of all things. And perhaps they "may add, that it has a kind of passive Perception "and Consciousness: But an active Intelligence, "as the efficient Cause of the World, and distinct "from the World, designing and directing its "Formation, all *Atheists* deny, and must deny.

This is what Mr. *Abernethy* has on the contrary proposed to prove; and this he does from those Appearances in Nature, which cannot possibly be explained by the fortuitous or necessary Concourse of Atoms, or any rude and unprepared Materials. And,

The first he mentions is the animal Life, of which we see a numberless Variety. —— "The Struc- "ture of animal Bodies is curious, consisting "of Parts exquisitely fine, and most artificially "disposed for receiving Nourishment and a gradual "Increase; but above all, the Faculties of Per- "ception and spontaneous Motion are never to be

" accounted for, without the interposal of an Intel-
" ligent Cause, to put one into each other, to fit one
" into each other, to fit one does not require less
" Power than to make the whole. The Formation of the Second is as the Scri-
" pture tells us, a Work of Creation, but not of Mi-
" racle, as the Modern Discoveries, whereby
" it seems probable, that the Nativities of an Am-
" phibious Race so appointed for its first
" Rudiments, and after its Existence has been gene-
" rally thought to continue, no more than ex-
" tending and enlarging upon the Idiotism, pre-ex-
" istent, or Stamen which lends us still more
" clearly to the Acknowledgment of a mighty cre-
" ating Hand, the wise Author of Nature, not to
" insist on this, it is evident to an attentive Mind,
" that no general Impulse of Motion impressed
" upon Matter, according to mechanical Laws,
" can give us the least tolerable Pretence for Ima-
" gining that in the first Stage of its Being, an
" Animal could have been produced without a spe-
" cial Intelligent Direction.

" Another thing which strongly evinces Intelli-
" gent Direction, is the Conservation of the distinct
" Species in a regular Propagation. Is it not a
" surprising thing, and to them who deny a go-
" verning Wisdom in the Universe, merely inex-
" plicable, that for so many Ages, wherein we
" have any Knowledge of Animals being in the
" World, unerring Nature has followed the inva-
" riable Rule in their Production? The several
" Kinds remain as distinct, as ever they were; they
" have never run into Confusion, nor mixed with
" each other. We see no such thing as Centaurs
" and Syrens, which are only the Creatures of Hu-
" man Imagination, and yet if we exclude ruling
" Wisdom, they might have a Chance for Actual
" Existence, as well as we Men, or the Horses,
" or the Women, or the Fishes.

" Again;

Again, "As none of the Species have ever run "into each other, so it does not appear that any of "them have been lost, for want of the neceſſary "Means and Opportunities of Propagation. This "evidently depends on the Diſtinction of the Sexes, "and a Propenſity in them to continue their Kind. "Strange! that in ſo many Deſcents there ſhould "never have happened, if Hazard ruled, and not "wiſe Providence, a Miſs, or a Defect in the Spe-"cies, or all Females, or that the Individuals of "one Sex ſhould not ſo outnumber the other, as "to put an end to, at leaſt very much diminiſh the "Race; and that there ſhould be a never-failing "Determination in the Individuals to fulfil their "natural Law of Propagation."

"If we proceed, in the next place, to conſider "the principal, but very obvious Phænomena of "the animal, and eſpecially of the human Conſti-"tution, viz. Perception and Activity, with all "their Modes, in the ſame View with the Frame "of the viſible World, and the Origin and regu-"lar Propagation of the ſenſitive Kinds; that is, "if we conſider them only as Evidences of Intelli-"gence and Deſign in their Production, they add "a Force to the Argument, which, one would "think, ſhould appear to an attentive Mind irre-"ſiſtible. For ſurely it can never be imagined, "with any Appearance of Reaſon, that Senſation, "and its different Modes, Seeing, Hearing, &c. "ſpontaneous Motion, and the various Inſtincts of "Animals producing ſuch a regular Oeconomy in "their Lives, each individual caring for itſelf, "and purſuing its own Ends, by the proper Uſe "of its Powers and Organs, and all of the ſeveral "Tribes conſpiring together to promote the com-"mon Good of the Whole, ſo far as their ſeveral "Conditions require, much leſs that the Powers "of Reaſon and Reflection, the ſocial and moral

"Affections

" Affections wherewith Men are endued, together " with the Improvements of them in the intire " Scheme of human Life and human Societies, " comprehending so much Order, Contrivance, " and various Enjoyment; it cannot, I say, be ima- " gined, that all these are to be attributed to unde- " signing Necessity or Chance.

" There is a Variety, with Uniformity and beau- " tiful Order, in the sensitive and intellectual, as " well as in the material World, which must strike " every considerate Person with a Sense of grand " Design in its Formation. In short, the animal " and rational Inhabitants of this Globe, even upon " a superficial View of them separately, of their " Natures, Capacities, and Conditions, and the " Oeconomy which appears in the most obvious " Face of this living World, carry such irrefra- " gable Evidences of Design, that it would be an " equal, or even a greater Absurdity, to resolve " these Appearances into blind Necessity or " Chance, than to account for the Composure of " the finest Poem, by the necessary or merely for- " tuitous Jumble of Atoms.

Our Author further proves the Existence of un- originated Intelligence and Activity in the Universe, from a more particular Consideration of the prin- cipal Appearances of the animal Life, especially the limited rational Faculties of Man. One Ap- pearance of the animal Life which he insists on is *spontaneous Motion*. " We know, says he, that " inanimate things at rest, necessarily continue so, " till they are moved by a Force superior to their " own Power of Resistance; but animal Bodies, " either the Whole, or particular Members of them, " change their Posture, begin to move or continue " in Motion, by an inward Activity and voluntary " Self-determination. This, we should think, should " be a very surprising Phenomenon to the sceptic,

" who

who denies the Existence of an original active Cause. But how does he get rid of the Difficulty, by roundly denies any such thing as Self-motion; and alledges, that all that looks like it in animal Action, is the mere Effect of the inward Agitation of the Machine, raised by the Impulse of external Objects on the Organs of Sense. But to this Account the Fact does not at all agree, as every one may be satisfied by his own Observation. This is true, that in our Sensations we are passive, and they necessarily arise, according to an established Law, by the Impression which certain Objects make upon us; yet for the Actions which are called voluntary, we know that as they are never properly caused, they are often not so much as occasioned by the Impulse of external Objects. Is not every Man conscious to himself, that he moves his Hands, his Feet, and other Parts of his Body, by the sole Command of his Will, frequently when there is no Impulse at all from without exciting him to it; and that the proper Agent in such Cases is the same conscious Self, which is intimately present in all Parts of the Body, perceiving the Impressions which are made upon it by its Organs of Sense?

Here then is a plain familiar Example, inducing us to form an Idea of a Mind acting upon a Matter, a percipient, self-determining Principle, moving Bodies only by a Volition. By this the supreme first Mover has left us a Witness within ourselves, which confounds the Cavils of *Atheism*. Shall it be said, that the whole System of the Universe, and all its Contains, is to be resolved into Mechanism, without a directing, mechanical Principle? That the Being of such a Principle, which is the Spring of Thought and active Operation, is an unthinking Matter, is unintelligible?

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" gible? and that no Motion can be conceived to " be effected but by a material Impulse? All this, " which *Atheists* call absurd, is exemplified in that " little System, a single Animal. Shall we not " acknowledge, that he who formed this percipient " self-determining Power, the Ruler of the Body " which it inhabits, yet unknowing how it exercises " its Dominion? that He, I say, is possessed of " superior Intelligence and Power? and is it not " easily conceivable, that such Intelligence and " Power may have a Command over large mate- " rial Systems?

But our Author rises beyond all this, to somewhat which carries in it a brighter and more illustrious Image of the Divine Understanding, than all he has hitherto enlarged on; *viz.* The intellectual Powers of the human Nature, far transcending the sensitive, both in the Excellence of their Kind, and the Extent of their Exercise. " When Sense and Under- " standing perceive the same Object, it is after a " very different manner: The former discerns only " what we call sensible Qualities of material Ob- " jects; — but we are conscious of another Power " which can review those Ideas, examine their Na- " ture and Relations, and by comparing them to- " gether, discover Truths concerning them, which " the merely animal Capacity does not reach to: " — We form general Notions [concerning them] " wherein the Mind abstracts from individual Ex- " istence, which the sensitive Faculty is not capable " of; we discern the Agreement or Disagreement " of our own Ideas, their Connexion and Depend- " ence; we form Propositions upon them, affirm- " ing and denying, distinguishing between Truth " and Falshood, and having clearly perceived some " Truths, we proceed in our Search after more, " by Consideration and Arguing. —

" But

" But there are other Objects of the Underſtanding, not deriv'd either immediately or remotely from the Senſes. Conſciouſneſs is no Image or Repreſentation of any thing without. That intuitive Knowledge we have of our Being and our own Powers, with all their various Exerciſes and Acts, ſuch as Perceptions of every kind, Senſations, Reflections, Remembrance, Judgment, Reaſoning, Self-determinations, Affections, Deſire, Fear, Hope, Sorrow, Joy; all theſe are accompanied with a Conſciouſneſs in the Mind, which does not, nor poſſibly can proceed from any external Object; for an external Object can only imprint ſomething of itſelf, nothing at all of the inward active diſcerning ſelf.

" Beſides, the Senſation we are now conſidering, as different from, and inferior to Underſtanding, ſtill takes in the Qualities of paſſive Matter, Extenſion, Diviſibility, Figure, *&c.* but there are other Ideas in the Mind as real and diſtinct, which do not repreſent extended, figured, diviſible Subſtance, nor have the leaſt Relation to any of its Properties or Modifications, ſuch as the Ideas of Virtue, of Honeſty, Benevolence, Gratitude, Juſtice, Compaſſion, which have no manner of Affinity with ſenſible Qualities, yet are of great Importance to the Purpoſes of our Being, the Objects of ſtrong Affections, and a Conſciouſneſs of them yields the moſt ſolid and ſubſtantial Pleaſure to the Soul; we Reaſon upon them as clearly, perceive Truths concerning them, and draw Conſequences, in which the Mind reſts as much ſatisfied of their Evidence, as in its Knowledge of the Figures, Gravity and other Affections of Matter. —— Hence we have a more clear Diſcovery than the animal Powers can give us, of ſelf-original Intelligence in the Univerſe; for, either the Underſtandings we find ourſelves poſ-

" ſeſs'd

" ſelf, or muſt be eternal and unoriginated, which
" no mortal ever imagined, or they muſt be origi-
" nally derived from an intelligent Author, to
" whom theſe Characters belong.

" It was a received Maxim among the Ancients,
" but very differently underſtood, that nothing can
" come from nothing. The Maxim in this Senſe
" is moſt certainly true, that nothing can be pro-
" duced without a ſufficient Cauſe in Order of Na-
" ture before it, and that no real Perfection can be
" in the Effect, which is not in the Cauſe, either
" actually or virtually, for if it were, that Perfec-
" tion would be produced without a Cauſe, or by
" nothing, which is a direct Contradiction. Now,
" applying this to the Point before us, the Queſtion
" is, how came Intelligence into the World, if not
" from an intelligent Cauſe? It is impoſſible
" to doubt of there being what we call Underſtand-
" ing in Man. Let us ſee then, if the Riſe of it can
" be accounted for without a prior Intelligence as
" its Cauſe. Suppoſing, tho' ever ſo abſurdly,
" all the Appearances of corporeal Nature not to
" require, to their Being and their Order, the Di-
" rection of any deſigning Cauſe, but that their
" Magnitude, Figure, and all other Qualities, pro-
" ceed from unguided moving Force, or the fortu-
" nous Jumble of their compounding Parts, the
" Queſtion is, if Intelligence with all its Modes is
" thus alſo to be explained? And any attentive Per-
" ſon will be convinc'd, that this Solution is alto-
" gether inſufficient, and indeed extremely unrea-
" ſonable. For all the viſible *Phænomena* of inani-
" mate Nature, whatever Diverſity there may be
" in their exterior Appearance, carry the Marks of
" their internal Conſtitution, having ſtill inſepe-
" rably belonging to them, the eſſential Proper-
" ties and primary Qualities of that whereof they
" are compounded, ſuch as Solidity, Divisibility,

" Figure,

"Figure, its Capacity of Motion and Rest, to which "it is in its own Nature indifferent, nor capable, "of itself, to change its State, from either to the "other, but always yielding to Force, Intelligence, "can never be the Result of these, any or all of them; "for let Magnitude, Figure and Motion be ever so "much altered, compounded, or divided, they "can really produce nothing but Magnitude, "Figure and Motion. But Perception and Con-"sciousness have no Relation to these; our Ideas "of them are as distinct as any can possibly be. "What resemblance has Consciousness to Motion "or Figure? Or, by an attentive Consideration, "must not every one perceive, that Reasoning and "Volition have not the least Affinity with Magni-"tude or Divisibility? And if, by the most appa-"rent Distinction of our own Ideas, we may not "conclude a real Difference of things, there is an "End of all Certainty, and our Knowledge is re-"duced to utter Confusion. If ever there had "been nothing in the World but passive Matter, "and Motion, however compounded and diversi-"fied, not only there never could have been any "such Thing as Consciousness, but indeed there "never could have been so much as Colour, Sound "and Taste, since these are only Modes of Per-"ception, and therefore peculiar to Beings endued "with a perceptive Power, which could only be "produced by an Agent himself persipient, either "in that or a more perfect Manner.

"It may be objected against all this, that if from the "Order and Harmony of the visible World, and from "a Multitude of sensitive and rational Beings, we "justly infer a designing Cause, supposing this to "be true, and that Order and Harmony, Intelligence "and Activity are in the divine Mind, what is the "Reason of this, and may we not prove by the "same Argument, that it must be Attributed to a

Cause?

" Cauſe? Our Author anſwers, our Argument is " not, that of every thing which has Being, or which " is wiſe and good, there muſt be a Cauſe; but " that, as in all other Caſes, by various Marks of " Contrivance in any Work, the human Mind is " naturally led to acknowledge an intending Au- " thor; ſo in this Caſe, by the clear Evidences of " Deſign in a numberleſs Variety of Inſtances, even " all Parts of the known Univerſe, the Inanimate, " the Senſitive and the Rational, we find ourſelves " oblig'd to recognize an underſtanding and deſign- " ing Cauſe. And here we may reſt; if there be " an intelligent Author of univerſal Nature, and of " all the Appearances we can diſcern in the whole " World, of their mutual Relations, Connexions " and Dependencies, he is the God for whom we " inquire. A Search after unſeen Cauſes of unſeen " Cauſes to infinity, can diſcover nothing but " Perplexity and Confuſion of Thought; the in- " telligent Fountain of all the Wiſdom, all the " Good and the Order which actually is in the Uni- " verſe, will appear to every impartial Mind wor- " thy of our higheſt Veneration and Eſteem, " and juſtly entitled to our Love and Confi- " dence. ——

" Upon a Review of this whole Reaſoning, and " indeed of the intire oppoſite Schemes of *Theiſm* " and *Atheiſm*, with regard to the Points which " have been conſider'd, this remarkable Difference " appears; that whereas there is a great Diverſity " of Beings in the Univerſe, and a great Variety of " Qualities, Powers, and Perfections belonging to the " ſeveral kinds of them, the *Atheiſtic* Opinion " makes the very loweſt of all, namely, Senſeleſs " paſſive Matter, the firſt Principle of all, the " eternal Self-exiſtent Being, from which, as the " Sole independent Origin, all things, even the " moſt regular and beautiful aroſe, nay, the

" higheſt

" highest Perfection of Intelligence, Virtue and " Happiness, without an active designing Cause. " For which Reason that Hypothesis is incumbered " with insuperable Difficulties in every Step of the " Scale of Being. ———

" But the Doctrine of Deity and Providence is " the perfect Reverse of all this, and explains the " System of the Universe in a consistent satisfac- " tory Manner. It represents Intelligence as the " first of Things, the Origin and Cause of all " derived Beings, and by the Help of its Direction, " sets all things in a fair and amiable Light. An " eternal self existent Mind, immediately possess'd " of all absolute Perfections, form'd the Plan of " the World, and wisely finished it, according to " its own most perfect Model. It was to be ex- " pected that the Work of such an Architect should " bear the Signature of his Hand, that is, his Coun- " sel and Power, in its Magnificence, Variety, " Proportion and beautiful Harmony, and so it " does. The low dark Out-works of this stately " Building, that is, the whole Mass of extended " [illegible] in itself so [illegible] ble, is form'd into various Beauty, by the [illegible] " of Spirit which inhabits it. From this there is " a gradual Ascent towards the utmost Height of " Excellence, and every rising Step in the Scale " carries in it a growing Display of original Per- " fection. Vegitation itself is a vast Improvement " upon dead Matter, shewing the superior plastic " Virtue of Spirit; but Animal Sensation and Spon- " taniety, however low in Comparison, are strong " Images of Understanding and Activity. Human " Intelligence, with its various Powers, Exercises " and Enjoyments, is the highest in our World, " and leads us directly to the great Original, it was " form'd by, the uncreated Mind." [illegible]

In the 6th Sermon absolute Eternity is explained, and shewn to be a peculiar Attribute of the divine Nature. In this Discourse our Author endeavours, *First*, to prove the Doctrine of God's Eternity. *Secondly*, to shew what are the most proper (tho' imperfect) Conceptions we can form of it.

To prove the divine Eternity, he proceeds by the following Steps. *Firstly*, The Idea of Duration naturally forces itself upon the human Mind; or we may indeed abstract from the Consideration of any particular Being, or of all Beings as existent in it, or we may imagine an eternal Nothing; but still the Idea of Eternity will remain. Now the Difficulties which attend our Notion of the divine Eternity, seem equally to attend the Notion of Eternity, misapplied to the Existence of any Being; for shall it be said that the Duration of the Deity without Succession, is what we can have no Idea of, and on the other hand, his eternal successive Duration is alike unconceivable, as supposing Infinity unequal, and capable of Addition and Diminution; and may not the same be considered of Duration, considered abstractly? These Difficulties therefore ought not to be made Objections against God's being from everlasting, or everlasting, since they lie equally against an abstract Duration, without Beginning and without End, which yet is inseparable from our Thoughts.

*Secondly*, It has been universally acknowledged, even by *Atheists*, that something must have existed from Eternity. And that if there ever had been nothing, then we never could have been any thing. Vain therefore are the Cavils of Unbelievers against the Eternity of God, which must equally affect all their own Hypothesis, an eternal Chaos, an infinite Succession of Worlds,

" be an infinite Series of dependent Causes. Again, " how can Minds attribute, and not attribute Duration, Existence to all Beings of which they have any Knowledge? But what kind of Duration shall we attribute to an uncaused Being? It " must be without a Beginning, in the Existence " of it without a Cause; the Supposition of a Beginning necessarily supporting the Possibility of a Cause. And that if the Mind finds itself constrained to assent to this Proposition, that there is an uncaused Being, it seems to be under the same Necessity of acknowledging that Being to be without Beginning, or absolutely eternal. Secondly, it appears also certain, that Intelligence has been eternally so; has been already proved, that Intelligence is discovered in the Formation and Constitution of Things: therefore it must have been from the Origin of this World, and before it. For the Cause, I mean the voluntary directing and contriving Cause, must be before the Effect. If it be alledged, that the Argument amounts to no more than that Intelligence was before the present System which we see, or whatever we have any Knowledge of, not that it is absolutely without Beginning, I answer, If it be certain beyond all rational Contradiction, that something has existed from everlasting, and there is no Difficulty or Absurdity in the Supposition, the Argument against the " Eternity of Intelligence, but what equally affects the Eternity of any Existence whatever; and this is plainly certain, that there is nothing we can discover or form our Thoughts upon in the whole Circle of Being, how we may in the Production of it and the Frame of it, ascribe Intelligence to the Cause, but that it must be acknowledged prior to the whole known Universe; and the Conclusion seems to me very evident, that Intelligence is absolutely eternal.

"Besides, the very same Reasoning which demonstrates that something must have existed from "Eternity, proves also that Understanding is Eternal. For as Non-entity could never have produced Being, so unintelligent Being could never "have produced Understanding; to imagine it, is "the same Absurdity, as in the other Case to imagine an Effect without a Cause. ——

"*Lastly*, The active Intelligence which form'd "the World, and still governs it, is seated in one "eternal Mind; the Effects of it are diffused "through the whole Extent of Being, and there is "no one Appearance in the universal System of "Nature, in which it is not manifested, and which "is not under its Direction; but the Source is one "everlasting Spring of Thought, one conscious "understanding Principle. ——

In the next Place our Author shews what seems to be the most proper (tho' imperfect) Conception we can form of the divine Eternity. And *First*, he tells us, it includes Self-existence, necessary Existence, and Independence. Of these Properties, as he says, we can form but very inadequate Ideas, because there is not any thing we are conscious of in ourselves, or that we perceive in the Objects about us, which bears the least Resemblance to them, or can give us any Notion of them. —— "And as to an antecedent Necessity in "the Nature of the Thing, considered as a Foundation for us to reason upon, inferring from it "an apparent Impossibility of not Being, or that "the Supposition of Non-Existence implies an express Contradiction; this I am afraid is, at least, "not obvious enough to every Capacity. Indeed "if the Impossibility of the Deity's not Being, or "that the Supposition of his Non-existence implies an "express Contradiction, can be clearly conceived, "it puts a speedy End to all Controversy with *Atheists*;

"*Atheists*; but it does not with full and satisfying "Evidence strike every even attentive Mind; for "which Reason it is necessary to use other Argu-"ments." Mr. *Abernethy*'s Method of reasoning upon this Point is this: He considers the Characters *self-existent*, *necessarily-existent*, and *independent*, with a View to the Pretensions, which other Beings besides the Deity may have to them; and by making it appear that there is no Ground for such Pretensions, he evinces the sole Title of the Deity thereto, as the peculiar Attributes of his eternal Existence. He observes, that as all are agreed that something must have been from Eternity, they must all consequently own, that that, whatever *it be*, existed of itself necessarily and independently. And accordingly, *Atheists* ascribe these Properties to the material World. But how rationally, he shews by a Display of that Variety, which is so obvious in the whole Frame of Nature, and which is absolutely incompatible with the Necessity supposed. "If we "know any thing at all, we know there is a great "Diversity of Beings in the Universe, each having "a singular and separate Existence, independent on "the rest. What Connection is there between the "Being of a Horse and a Fish, of a Tree upon this "Earth, and a fixed Star in the far distant Hea-"vens? Can all these Things, the whole System "and every one of its Parts exist necessarily, so that "not one Individual of any kind, nor even the most "minute Particle in their Composition, could pos-"sibly be wanting? One would think such a "World has the least Appearance of being unde-"riv'd and self-existent, which seems rather to be "a Manner of being perfectly Uniform and Un-"compounded, as absolutely necessary, and pro-"ceeding from no Cause. At the same Time there "is an apparent Relation of particular Things and "the Parts of the Universe to each other, and

"every one may see it, as between Animals and "the Earth, Fishes and the Sea, the whole terra-"queous Globe and the Heavens; this plainly dis-"covers Wisdom in the Cause, for their necessary "Existence, which is absolute in itself, and unre-"lated to any thing. Again, Motion, upon which "the Appearances of the material World depend, "is not necessary; for whereas that which is self-"existent is uniform, and without Variation, no-"thing appears to be farther from that Character "than Motion: It is by our Senses only we have "any Idea of it, and they represent it as the most "precarious of all things, in its Being, Forms, and "Degrees, as begun, increased, diminished, and "changed arbitrarily; insomuch that the first self-"evident Axiom concerning it is this; That all "Bodies continue in their State of Motion or Rest, "till it be altered by a Force impressed upon them.

"And *lastly*, bare Matter, the most passive and "variable of all things, the most evidently depend-"ent in its State, infinitely divisible, compounded "and circumscribed in its Being, having no Power "but that of Inactivity, has of all others the least "Claim to necessary or Self-existence. Since "therefore it is agreed on all hands, that these At-"tributes, Self-existence, necessary Existence, and "Independence, must belong to some Being, as "having an inseparable Connexion with absolute "Eternity; and since none of those things which "have been set up in Opposition, have any Title "to them; it remains that they are the sole unal-"terable Characters of that supreme intelligent "Being, who is absolutely, in the highest Sense, "eternal, and the first Cause of all things.

Another Perfection necessarily connected with ab-solute Eternity, is Unchangeableness. "As im-"perfect as our Knowledge is of the Essence and "Perfections of the Deity, we cannot but be con-

"vinced by our own Reason, that Immutability is "imported in, or is a Consequence from his Eter- "nity. —— That which had neither Beginning "nor Cause, cannot be deprived of its Being by "any Power, nor be liable to any Change. —— "The natural Perfections of the Deity, his Power, "and Knowledge, and Wisdom, not depending "even upon his own Will, as they are derived "from no other Cause, but included in his Essence "itself, must be, like it, unvariable; it is impos- "sible they should ever cease to be, or suffer any "Diminution. —— The moral Attributes indeed, "such as Holiness, Goodness, Justice, and Vera- "city, are of somewhat a different Consideration, "and our Way of Thinking concerning them does "not lead us to the same Notion of their Immuta- "bility. We have a very clear Idea of moral Rec- "titude; but it carries in it Free-agency, and is "in ourselves, and other inferior moral Agents, ac- "companied with a Possibility of doing Wrong. "How then moral Perfections should be essential "to any Being, always free in their Exercise, de- "pending on the Will, and yet so necessary as to "be absolutely immutable; this is hard for us to "conceive. At the same time, as moral Goodness "is necessarily high in the Esteem of the human "Mind, so that we cannot account any Being ab- "solutely perfect without it, and every Property of "the Divine Nature — must belong to it in a Man- "ner which we cannot comprehend; we must "conclude that the moral Perfections of the Supreme "Being are, like his other Attributes, essential, "necessary, and eternal, tho' the Manner of their "being so is to us incomprehensible.

The Inferences which our Author has drawn from the Divine Eternity, are exceedingly proper. Here are some Passages of them, with which I will close this Article.

"There is no Attribute which appears more venerable than that of abſolute, independent Eternity; tho' it is but little we know of it, yet that little fills the Mind with the greateſt Awe, and raiſes an Idea of Magnificence, unparallel'd in the whole Circle of Being. We find ourſelves poſſeſſed of an Exiſtence which is confined within very narrow Limits. Our Remembrance is but of Yeſterday; our Conſciouſneſs reaches only to a very ſhort Period: We ſee all things about us continually paſſing; Beings like ourſelves diſappear, after acting their Part but a few Years on this Stage, and their Places know them no more: We cannot avoid apprehending the ſame Fate to ourſelves, that we ſhall ſoon withdraw into Darkneſs, and make room for others; rather indeed, upon this ſuperficial View of Things, we are perfectly ignorant of what ſhall come after. What then, has Exiſtence itſelf no ſtable Foundation? Is there nothing in Nature but a perpetual Round of tranſitory Being? nothing we can fix our Thoughts upon, that is permanent and undecaying, which holds together the whole Series of ſucceſſive Exiſtence, and eſtabliſhes a Connexion of paſt, preſent, and future? This Way of Thinking ſpreads Horror and Confuſion over the whole Face of Nature, Diſorder on the Origin of all things, and Darkneſs on their laſt Reſult: Nothing looks great, nor ſo much as real; Exiſtence itſelf vaniſheth into a Dream, with an univerſal Blank before and behind it. But when we ſee an eternal Intelligence, ſelf-exiſtent and immutable, the ſame yeſterday, and to day, and for ever, how is the Proſpect changed! Every thing appears in a fair and amiable Light. However variable the exterior Face of Nature may be, there is a permanent Wiſdom in the Cauſe which directed the

" Principles,

" Beginning

the Beginning of Things, and eſtabliſhes their Continuance, which holds faſt the Foundations of Exiſtence, and unites it to a central Point; the gloomy Spectre of eternal Nothing flies away, or, which is no better, rather the ſame under empty, inſignificant Names, eternal Chance, or blind, undeſigning Neceſſity. This State of Order, and Intelligence at the Head of it, is what a wiſe, attentive Mind could not but wiſh for, and rejoice in finding it true, as giving it a comfortable Enjoyment of its own Exiſtence, and a delightful Idea of Regularity and Beauty in the Appearance of the Univerſe. But when, conſidering the Conſtitution of Things, our remoteſt View either backward or forward terminates in Non-entity, or in Ignorance and Confuſion, the preſent State itſelf loſes all its Solidity, and all its Excellence, the higheſt Perfection of Being ſinks into Emptineſs and Vanity. Such is the diſmal Condition of the *Atheiſt*'s Mind; — he knows of no Being without it to whom it owes itſelf and all the Good it poſſeſſes, and therefore nothing to warm it with Gratitude (that noble ſolicitating Affection) nor to be the Support of its Confidence; nothing in the World appears worthy the caring for; the World itſelf is ſtripped of all its Glory and Beauty. The *Atheiſt* finds no Wiſdom to entertain his Underſtanding with; that Order, Proportion, and Harmony, which are ſo entertaining to other Minds, are loſt to him, regarded no otherwiſe than as Chimera's; he ſees nothing without him that is excellent, feels nothing within his Heart that is generous and manly. Benevolence itſelf decays, unſupported by any juſt Sentiments; tho' its Root is too deep fixed by the wiſe unknown Author of his Being, to be altogether extirpated, yet the more he views human Nature in the falſe Light of his mean

" Principles,

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" Principles, the less amiable it appears. How is " Humanity sunk in these unhappy Wretches, and " the Dignity of our Being, indeed of all Being, " lost to them, through their affected Ignorance " and Perverseness? Their State surely is not to be " envied, but extremely to be pitied." —— Again, " In a special manner, the one, unchangeable, " intelligent, eternal Fountain of Existence and all " Perfection, must be transcendently glorious in " our Eyes. —— It appears a Perfection to be, and " yet a greater Perfection to continue in Being; " but an uniform, immutable, conscious Existence, " is the utmost conceivable Perfection. —— This is " the Character of the Deity, which raises him high " in our Esteem, and intitles him to that Name, " which *Moses* says he gave himself, and claims as " peculiarly belonging to him; I AM THAT I " AM." —— Again;

" God is to be adored by us, as being Immutable, " not only in his Essence, but in his Purposes. " —— How glorious is it and excellent to be of one " Mind, and to preserve the same unvaried Tem- " per and Tenor of Conduct, from an absolute " Perfection of Knowledge, and an unalterable " Rectitude of Will! From hence arises an indis- " pensible and perpetual Obligation on us, and all " intelligent Creatures, of Worship and Homage " to the Deity. If the Glory and Perfection of his " Nature can suffer no Diminution, and, in conse- " quence of that, the Measures of his Government " are through all Ages the same, the Foundations " of our Duty to him are unmoveable." Again;

" The Grounds of our Hope and Confidence in " God are firm and stable. The Goodness to which " we owe our Being, and all the Happiness we " enjoy, is eternal. God loves his Creatures with " an everlasting Love; —— he can provide against " all future Dangers as well as the present, and

" however

however the Appearances of Things may vary, they are none of them without his Foresight, and the Direction of his wise and powerful Providence. Therefore, if scoffing Infidels say, *Where is the Promise of his coming to judge the World*, and render Recompences to Men? for, *since the Fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were*; the Answer in which his Servants rest as contented, as humbly confident in his Mercy and Faithfulness, is, *A thousand Years are with him as one Day*, all Times are equally in his Power, and sooner or later he will fulfill all the reasonable Desires of all them that fear him.

## ARTICLE XXIV.

*The Manners and Customs of the* Romans. *Translated from the* French. London: *Printed for* John *and* Paul Knapton, *at the* Crown *in* Ludgate-street. 1740. Octavo. *Pages* 359.

THIS Volume consists of four Books. The first contains nineteen Chapters; the second, twelve; the third, eight; and the fourth, four. These are preceded by a preliminary Introduction. Herein our Author first takes notice of the low and obscure Beginning of the *Roman* State. Then from certain Facts that he relates, he shews, "that *Rome* had very early formed to itself a Plan for aggrandising her Power; a Plan from which neither the Changes made in the Form of the Government, nor the different Kind of Magistrates created, ever made her depart." He proves, by divers Instances, That the Policy of the primitive *Romans* was founded in Violence, tho'

" by

Ministers

Ministers of Religion intended to separate Orders. They were confounded with the Nobility, who reserved to themselves the superintendance of the Sacrifices, and the Dignities of Religion, till the 454th Year of *Rome*, when the People were admitted to a share in those of Augur and Pontiff. The third Order contained only two Persons, who were also distinguished into three kinds. *First*, the *Ingenui*, who were born free, and of Parents who had always been so. *Secondly*, the Children of Freedmen, called in *Latin Libertini*; and *thirdly*, Freedmen themselves, who from Slaves had been made Free by their Masters. For so long as they continued Slaves, they could not be ranked amongst the People.

This latter Order, and Authors tell us, were included in the Distribution of the *Roman* People made at first by *Romulus*, or *Servius Tullius*, the former King, in order to have a more exact Knowledge of the Forces of the State, introduced the *Census*, or general Review of all the *Roman* Citizens, wherein every Father of a Family was obliged to give in a faithful Account of his Slaves, his Freedmen, and actual Residence. He also instituted Officers in every Village, who were to take an Account of the Inhabitants and their Estates, and in which all Births were to be made, or Farms to be raised, it was the Business of those Officers to list Soldiers, and to levy the Capitation. They were also to take care that the Lands in their District were well cultivated. *Servius Tullius* afterwards divided the *Roman* People into six *Classes*, and divided each *Class* into a certain Number of *Centuries*, of which he made another Division, the one of such as were above forty-five Years old, and the other of the *Youth*, that is to say, those between seventeen and forty-five. This latter Body was intended to go abroad, and out of the other, the People which

remained

contained in each of the City were compos'd. To these two Bodies of Troops he added four Centuries, two of which consisted only of Artificers, and the other two of Performers on Musical Instruments, all four to follow the Armies. The first Class contained the richest Citizens, and the rest consisted of the same in Proportion down to the last, in which those were ranked, whose Fortunes did not amount to twelve hundred and fifty Drachmas. There was a Multitude of poorer Sort, which were called *Proletarii*, because they were useful to the State only in the Propagation of Children; being exempt from serving in the Armies and paying any Taxes on account of their Poverty. Tho' this Class was far the most numerous, *Servius* made it but one Century, that it might have the less Share in the Affairs of the Government. The great Increase of Citizens made it necessary to augment the Number of the Tribes from time to time, which at length rose to thirty five. The Tribe in consequence did not continue to signify the Quarter where the Citizen lived, as it had at first, but only a certain Part of the People, of which it consisted, and which however still retained the Name of Tribe. Thus the *Roman* People was distributed in five Manners, the first by Tribes, the second by *Curia* or Wards, the third by Classes, the fourth by Centuries, and the fifth by the three Orders of the State, the Senators, the Knights, and the People. The important Circumstances which cross those different Distributions, and the Changes which were made in them, are succinctly related in this Treatise, as Occasion introduces them.

A certain Author has prefixed to each Book of this Work a Table of its Contents, for the better Direction of the Reader; which I have omitted, as I think it rather serves to interrupt the Connection, than to give any Light into the Order, adding here and there, on the particular Heads, such Passages as I suppose would best instruct and entertain the Reader.

The

The first Book recites the MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the *Romans*, considered principally in private Life. The first Chapter of this Book informs us of the *Roman* Names, and the Times of giving them: Of the registering the Births of Children: Of Adoption: Of the Method of Education.

With regard to the first of these our Author acquaints us, that "the *Romans*, especially Persons "of Distinction, had usually three Names, and "sometimes four, when they had been adopted: "The first Name, or *Prænomen*; the *Nomen*, or "that of the Family from which they descended; "and the *Cognomen*, or that peculiar to the Branch "of a Family.—The *Roman* Women had but two "Names.—To a Son they gave the Name of the "Family on the ninth Day after his Birth; to a "Daughter on the eighth.—But the *Prænomen* "was not given the former till he took the Toga "*virilis*, which he was not permitted to do before "the Age of seventeen, nor to the Daughters till "their Marriage.—During some time the Wo"men had also peculiar first Names, which were "wrote the wrong End upwards; for Instance *C.* "and *M.* reversed signified *Caia* and *Marcia*. This "was a manner of expressing the feminine Gender, "but this Custom was dropt in Process of Time. "If the Females were only Daughters, the Name "of their House was given them alone, and some"times softned with a Diminutive, as *Tullula* in"stead of *Tullia*. If there were two of them, they "were distinguished by the Words *Senior* and *Ju*"*nior*, and if more they were called the first, se"cond, third, *&c.* These Names were also made "Diminutives, as *Secundilla* the second, *Quartilla* "the fourth.—As to the Slaves, they had at first "no other Names but those of their Masters, after"wards those of their Countries were added to "them; and when they were made free they took

"their

" their Master's *Prænomen*, and the *Nomen* or " Name of his Family, but not the *Cognomen*, in " stead of which they retained their own *Prænomen*. " There was also another Name which was taken " in case of Adoption.

The Topics of the second Chapter are, the manner of living in the primitive Ages of *Rome*: The Education of their Youth of both Sexes: The fewness of their Laws: A Commendation of their Virtue: Their Application to martial Exercises.

In the third Chapter we are told of the *Roman* Eloquence: Of the Origin of the Profession of Advocates: Of the Decline of the Sciences: Of the Ignorance of the earlier Ages: Of the want of publick Schools: Of the Fashion of Writing: Of the Form of their Epistles: Of the Moderation of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, with regard to Title: Of the Pride of future Emperors and Senators in that respect: Of the Politeness of the *Romans*: Of the Place of Honour among them: Of the Emperor's Mode of Salutation: Of the Respect paid to the Ladies, and the prohibiting them the Use of Wine.

Our Author has extracted his Account of the Manner of Writing among the *Romans*, from *Pliny*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Suetonius*. He tells us, " they " used Tablets, made of the Bark of a Tree cut ve- " ry thin, and covered over slightly with Wax, " upon which they marked the Letters with an iron " Bodkin, that was flat at the Top, to efface upon " occasion what had been wrote: When those iron " Bodkins were prohibited, that they might not be " used as Daggers, gold ones came into fashion. " They also used Vellum or Parchment of different " Colours, yellow, purple, and white, upon which " they wrote in Letters of Gold or Silver, with " Reeds instead of Quills. They had also for the " same Use Leaves of a certain *Egyptian* Plant, " called *Papyrus*, properly prepared, from which



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" our *Paper*, tho' very different, takes its Name. " They also wrote upon fine Linnen cloth, of " which they made Books in the Form of Rolls, " which they unrolled as they read, and called each " Leaf or Roll, *Volumen*. They had also a short " way of Writing, which was much in Use under " the Emperors, that is to say, with Marks, of " which each signified a Word. With this Inven- " tion, which is ascribed to *Mæcenas*, the Favou- " rite of *Augustus*, they wrote as fast as one spoke, " and could follow the most rapid Discourse.

The fourth Chapter treats of the *Roman* Habits, as the *Toga*, the *Prætexta*, the *Latus clavus*, the *Rudia*, the *Lacerna*, the *Synthesis*, the *Pallium*, the *Paludamentum*, the military Vestments, the Use of Linnen, of Girdles, of the Colours of their Habits, of the Rarity of Silk, *&c.*

Our Author notes, that in the earliest Times the *Roman* Habits were made only of different Skins of Beasts, to which succeeded coarse woollen Stuffs, which they improved and made finer in Process of time. Even under most of the Emperors, Wool was the only Cloathing, and *Augustus* never wore any other. *Heliogabalus* was the first Emperor, who had a Robe made entirely of Silk, which was then called *Holosirica*, because Silk came from the Country of *Seres*, which we name *China*. Silk was so scarce in those times, that it was sold for its Weight in Gold; and above fifty Years after we find its Price not diminished, by *Aurelian*'s Answer to his Wife, who only desired him to let her wear a Robe entirely of it, and dyed in Purple. He refused her with saying, " That he was far from valuing Thread " and Gold at the same Price. This Emperor would not wear a Robe of Silk, and only permitted Women of Quality to have their Tunicks dyed in Purple, whereas before they were not permitted " to wear that Colour.

The fifth Chapter continues the Description of the Apparel and Ornaments of the *Romans*, as of the different kinds of Stuff they used; of the Head-dress of the Men; of the Powder of Gold with which they strewed their Heads; of their false Hair and long Beards; of the different Head-attire of the *Roman* Ladies; of the Pendants wore at the Ears both of the Men and Women, and various other Jewels.

The *Romans*, as our Author tells us at the Beginning of this Chapter, "manufactured Stuffs, in "which they mixed a little Silk; they made some "in which there were Stripes of Gold, Silk, and "Linnen. Linnen did not begin to be commonly "used, till towards the Declension of the Empire, "when the *Egyptians* came to settle among them, "and they made use of it in imitation of that Peo-"ple."

The sixth Chapter is concerning the Gold-rings peculiar to the Knights; the Attention of the Ladies to the Improvement of their Beauty; their false Teeth, and their Toilets: the several Manners of dressing the Legs among the *Romans*; of their Shoes, and their going bare-foot in the earlier Ages.

The seventh Chapter treats mostly of their Litters and Chariots: Incidentally, a kind of Post is mentioned, instituted by *Augustus*, for the speedy Conveyance of Intelligence from the Provinces; as are likewise the great Ways and Roads.

In the eighth Chapter various Particulars are taken notice of, concerning the Grandure of *Rome*, the Habitations of the Citizens, the Furniture of their Houses, and divers Instances of their Luxury.

"The City of *Rome*, says our Author, till the "time when it was burnt by the *Gauls*, consisted "of thatched Houses and poor Cottages; "and till the Arrival of *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, the

"Houſes were covered only with Planks and "Boards. —— But under the firſt Emperors, Mar-"ble was employed more commonly than Brick or "Stone had been before. To adorn them, every "thing moſt curious and valuable was uſed; Gild-"ing, Paintings, Ivory, fine Woods, precious "Stones, none of which were ſpared. The Pave-"ments of the lower Apartments were either in-"laid Marble or Moſaic-work. —— When the "Common-wealth was at the height of its Great-"neſs, the Houſes of the principal Perſons were laid "out in ſuch a manner, that before the Gate there "was a kind of Portico ſupported by Pillars, and "intended to ſhelter the Clients from the Weather, "who came in the Morning to pay their Duty to "their Patron. The Court was uſually ſurrounded "with Flights of Chambers, that opened into Por-"ticos. At the Entrance of the Houſe was a large "Hall, adorned with the Statues in Wax, Silver, "or Marble, of the Owner's Anceſtors, with a "ſhort Account of their greateſt Actions. —— All "the Houſes were of two Stories, without includ-"ing the low one at bottom under the firſt. On "the firſt were the Halls of Audience and Lodg-"ing-rooms, and on the ſecond, the Eating-"rooms and the Apartments of the Women. It is "not known how their Chimnies were made, and "whether they had any except in their Kitchens: It "appears however, that they ſeldom had any in "the Apartments; but to ſupply the want of "them they had portable Furnaces, or Fire-pans. "—— We are ſtill in Ignorance as to what they uſed "in their Windows, for letting the Light into "Rooms, and to keep out the Injuries of the Wea-"ther. It was perhaps Linnen-cloth, or ſome Stuff "equivalent to it. For it is certain, tho' Glaſs was "not unknown to them, —— that they did not uſe it "like us for Windows. —— In the Time of Rome's "Grandure,

"Grandure, her principal Citizens built spacious "Houses, in order to have spare Apartments for "the Strangers who visited them. They had "all Portico's to walk in under Cover from the Sun "and Weather, and turned to the East for the "Conveniency of the different Seasons, with A-"partments for Summer and Winter, and Rooms "only to eat in, which were always in the highest "Part of the House. In many of the chief "Houses were fine Libraries, and Baths in all "those of the rich, which were always placed near "the eating Rooms, because it was the Custom to "bathe before they sat down to Table." Our Author enlarges very much in this Chapter on the Magnificence and Beauty both of their publick and private *Thermæ*.

In the ninth Chapter he treats of the Division of Time amongst the *Romans*: Of their Laws: Of their usual Occupations in the Day-time: Of Patrons and Clients: Of their Manner of devoting Criminals.

In the tenth Chapter, somewhat is said of the Occupations proper to the third and fifth Hours: Of the Affairs which employed the greatest Part of the Day: Of the Magnificence of their Buffets: Of the Beds used at Tables.

The eleventh Chapter describes the Ceremonies of their Feasts and ordinary Meals: Assigns the first Use of Table-cloths: And mentions the Games of Chance, Lotteries, and other Amusements that preceded their Entertainments.

The twelfth Chapter gives an Account of the Dish of the *Romans*: Of their Vintages: Of the Laws for retrenching the Luxury of the Table: Of the Supper given *Cicero* and *Pompey* by *Lucullus*. It ends with a Comparison between the last named Person and *Manius Curius Dentatus*.

In the thirteenth Chapter we have many things relating to the *Roman* Physicians: the Institution of

Hot-baths, Bakers, Arts and Sciences, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting.

"There were no publick Bakers and Ovens in the Days of Cato, every Body making their own Bread and every Meal at Home. For the Romans had no Mills, but bruised their Corn in Mortars with a Pestle by Strength of Arms to extract the Flower.

The Arts in which the Romans succeeded best after the Greeks, were Architecture and Sculpture. However, our Author says, it is obvious from the Works in Relief come down to us, that they were no great Masters of the Rules of Perspective; for we find Houses, Towers, and other Edifices amidst them, of which the Distances are so ill observed, that the human Figures near them, are larger than the Buildings themselves; tho' in other respects the Workmanship is highly finished. To prove this, we have only to see the Designs that have been taken of the Columns of Trajan and Antonine. As to their Statues, and particularly those that are naked, far from appearing to want Art, it is observed, besides the Elegance of the Outlines, and the just Proportions, that they have an Exactness of Anatomy; which seems the more remarkable, as the Romans had but a very imperfect Knowledge of that Science. But it is to be believed, that the frequent Shews, wherein the Wrestlers and Gladiators combated, making them acquainted with all the different exterior Motions of the Muscles, Nerves, and Organs, served them instead of a School of Anatomy.

From some Remains of the ancient Painting which have been found, we are satisfied that the Ro-

* The Reader I believe, cannot but be surprized at the odd Jumble of Topics, not here only, but throughout the whole Book. We are to remember the Author is a *Frenchman*; and the Writers of that Nation are often too sprightly to submit to the Laws of Method.

mans

" ing ignorant of the Art of distributing Light, " and of using Shades to Advantage.

Chapter the fourteenth gives us an Idea of the Division of the *Roman* Year; the *Julian* Year; the Æra of the Foundation of *Rome*; the Manner of dating by Consulships; of *New-Year's Gifts*, of the Division of the Months.

*Romulus* made the Year begin with the Month of *March*, and to consist only of ten Months. *Numa* afterwards reformed this Distribution of the Year, and divided it into twelve Months, making it to begin with *January*. This Division, tho' less defective than the first, was still subject " to great Errors, which *Julius Cæsar* corrected, " with the Assistance of the famous Mathematician " *Sosigenes* of *Alexandria*, in making the Year consist of three hundred and sixty-five Days and six " Hours, which before was only three hundred and " fifty-four, and one Day that *Numa* had added to " them out of a Superstition, to make the Number odd, which made twelve lunar Months. But " *Julius Cæsar*, because there were six Hours remaining every Year, invented the *Bissextile*, " which is a natural Day, or twenty-four Hours " added to each fourth Year. The Reformation " of the Calender, with which the Year called *Julian*, from *Julius Cæsar*, began, was made forty-" five Years before the Christian Æra, to reckon " from the Circumcision of Jesus Christ, and not " from his Birth, which happened in *December*, in " the seven hundred and eighth Year from the " Foundation of *Rome*.

In the fifteenth Chapter, our Author has some slight Touches on the Calends, which were the Times for Payment of Debts. He then briefly treats of Usury; Interests of Money; Bankers; the Great Place, or *Forum Romanum*; the Tribunal

for Harangues; the military Tribes, from whence the Miles of *Italy* were composed.

The sixteenth Chapter turns principally on the Measures and Weights of the *Romans*. The last Article of it relates to their Markets and publick Granaries.

"Distance of Place was reckoned amongst the "*Romans* by a thousand geometrical Paces, of five "Feet each; and by *Stadia* or Furlongs, which "consisted of an hundred and twenty-five geome- "trical Paces, or six hundred and twenty-five Feet. "The *Roman* Foot was about an Inch less than "the *French*, and was divided two Ways, that is "to say, into sixteen Digits, which were its least "Parts, and twelve Inches. They also used ano- "ther Measure, which was the *Roman Palm*. "That which they called the common *Palm*, was "three Inches or four Digits, and the great *Palm* "was twelve Digits or nine Inches. Four, and "twenty *Stadia*, or three Miles, made an ordinary "*French* League. As to the manner of mea- "suring Land, they had other Measures, the Par- "ticulars of which are as follow: The *Roman* "Perch was ten Feet; the *Clima* contained sixty "Feet every way; the lesser *Actus* was an hun- "dred and twenty Feet long by four broad; the "square *Actus* was an hundred and twenty Feet of "all Sides; and two square *Actus* made the *Juge- "rum*, which was as much Land as a Yoke of Oxen "could plow in one Day. The *Versus* was also a "square Measure of Land, of an hundred Paces "every way; and the *Heredium* contained two *Ju- "gera*.

"Almost all Commodities were sold by Weight "at *Rome*, to which even Liquid measures were "reduced. It will not be improper to give the "Names of those Measures in this Place, from "the Weight of some of which it will be easy to "know

" know that of each in particular. Thus, the *Cu-*
" *leus* † held twenty *Amphoræ*. The *Amphora*,
" forty *Urnæ*. The *Urna*, four *Congii*. The *Con-*
" *gius*, contained the Weight of ten Pounds or six
" *Sextarii*. The *Sextarius*, two *Heminæ*, or *Co-*
" *ylæ*.

" We must observe, that there were two kinds of
" *Sextarii*; that called *Castrensis*, or of the Army,
" which held twice as much as the other. The com-
" mon *Sextarius* weighed twenty Ounces. The *He-*
" *mina* contained two *Quartarii*. The *Quartarius*
" contained two *Cyathi* and an half. The *Cyathus*
" was subdivided into other smaller Measures, about
" which all Authors do not agree.

" The *Roman* Pound consisted only of twelve
" Ounces, as it does to this Day at *Rome*. But it is
" said to have been heavier by about an Ounce.

The seventeenth Chapter, after an Account of the *Field of Mars*, and the usual Exercises of that Place, speaks of the *Roman* Slaves, their Chastisement, and the Manner of their Enfranchisement: Of the Duties of Freedmen to their Masters: Of Sales by Auction: Of the Punishment of Prodigals.

" The Riches of a *Roman* Citizen were compu-
" ted from the Number of his Slaves. It were easy
" to quote many, of whom each had above twenty
" thousand in his Service. They were distinguished
" into three Sorts: Those who had been taken in
" War, that were usually sold by Auction; those
" bought of Dealers, who trafficked for them in
" Markets; and lastly, those born in their Master's
" Houses, of Fathers and Mothers that were Slaves.
" —— As to the Slaves, whom the Dealers exposed to
" Sale in the Markets, some carried a Garland of
" Flowers on their Heads, to shew they were to be

† The *Culeus* contained 520 Quarts, and the *Amphora* a little less than 26.

" sold;

" fold; others a kind of Cap or Hat, which signi-
" fied that the Seller would not warrant them. They
" carried a Scrole hanging at their Necks, on
" which their good and bad Qualities, Health and
" Infirmities, Virtues and Faults were specified.
" There was also another Sort: These were those,
" who being free, either sold themselves voluntari-
" ly, or became Slaves to their Creditors. The *Ro-*
" *man* Laws allowed the Creditor to cause his Deb-
" tor, who had not wherewithall to pay him, to be
" adjudged to him as a Slave, till the 424th Year
" of *Rome*, when a Regulation was made, by which
" only the Goods of a Debtor, if a *Roman* Citizen,
" and not his Person, were for the future to be at the
" Disposal of the Creditor. —— The Masters had
" Power of Life and Death over all their Slaves,
" and caused them to be chastised when they thought
" fit. There were however Regulations for mode-
" rating that Severity, and checking the Violence
" and Cruelty of the Masters, of which some, thro'
" Excess of Avarice, would not even cause their
" Slaves to be taken care of when they fell sick,
" but sent them to an Island in the *Tiber*, named
" the Island of *Æsculapius*, now called the Island
" of *St. Bartholomew*: There they were left with-
" out any Assistance under the Auspices of the God
" of Medicine. It was to remedy these Disorders,
" that the Emperor *Claudius* passed a Decree,
" that every sick Slave abandoned by his Master,
" should be declared free, when he recovered his
" Health. And under the Emperor *Adrian* it was
" ordained, that every Master who should kill his
" Slave without sufficient Cause, should suffer Death.
" If he treated them too cruelly, they could com-
" pell him to sell them at a reasonable Price. The
" same Prince decreed also, that their capital
" Crimes should be brought before the ordinary
" Tribunals; and because the Laws permitted,

" that

" that all the Slaves of a Man killed in his own " House might be put to the Question, he limited " this Custom to such of them only as were Wit- " nesses of the Murder, and might have prevented it.

" As the Slave Merchants sold them at a much " higher Price, according to the Talents they pos- " sessed, they were very industrious to find such as " had Genius for Arts and Sciences, in order to have " them instructed. Masters did the same in respect " to their Slaves whom they had in their Houses: " So that some of them proved not only very happy " in the Arts, but also very knowing in the Scien- " ces. — After having finished the several Tasks pre- " scribed them, some Time was allowed them to be " applied to their own Advantage. — What they " gained in these Intervals was not at the Disposal " of their Masters. — With this Permission of amas- " sing some little Matters, they had no Right, how- " ever, to make Wills. —

" Their usual Punishment was the Whip; and " in order to it they were tied by the Feet, or under " the Arm-pits, when they were to continue long " in that Condition; and a great Weight was made " fast to their Feet, to prevent them from kicking " those who scourged them. They were prohi- " bited to hold Assemblies, or have Feasts among " themselves, to prevent them from exciting Re- " volts, of which there had been many that could " not be quelled immediately. — To oblige them to " be vigilant for the Security of their Masters, " there was a Law, which ordained, if any Person " was killed by one of his Slaves, that not only " those who were actually in their Master's House, " but such also as were made free by his Will, if " in the House at the Time of his Death, should " be executed. — There were Slaves at *Rome* that " belonged to the State. They were employed in

publick

" publick Works; *viz.* in Building, making of " Highways, and extinguishing Fires.

" As Slaves were made free from different Mo- " tives, there were also different Manners of giving " them their Liberty. It was usually by Will, or " in the Life of their Master, either out of Grati- " tude for the good Offices they had received from " them, or Interest, when the Master agreed with " his Slave for the Price of his Liberty. Condi- " tional Manumissions were made sometimes. These " were, when the Master reserved certain Services " during his Life, so that the Slaves did not enjoy " entire Liberty, till after his Death. There was " a particular Case, wherein the Master made his " Slaves free during his Life for his own Security; " This was when he was conscious of some Crime " punishable by the Laws, and gave them their " Liberty, for fear of being convicted by their be- " ing put to the Rack; which could not be done, " after they were become *Roman* Citizens by being " made free. But if a Slave had undergone some " severe Punishments, as the Whip, the Prison, " and been branded in the Face for some bad Ac- " tion, which was not uncommon, he could not " be immediately made free like others; it was " necessary for him to stay a certain Time, enjoying " at first only what was called the lesser Liberty.

" When a Slave was made free, his Head was " shaved, and his Master then carried him before " the *Prætor*. There was no Necessity for that " Magistrate to be on his Tribunal for that Pur- " pose; neither did it signify where they found him. " In presenting the Slave he said, *Hunc Hominem* " *liberum esse volo, e Manu emittere*, *I desire that* " *this Man may be free*; and the *Prætor* answered, " *Do eum esse liberum more Quiritum*, *I declare him* " *free according to the Custom of the* Romans. In " pronouncing these Words, he gave him a gentle

" Stroke

" Stroke with his Staff of Office upon his Head. *Festus* however tells us, that it was the Master who pronounced these Words; and that in saying them, he touched the Slave with his Staff, and made him turn quite round, which was called in *Latin*, *Vertigo*.

" The Slaves of the *Roman* People had one Advantage which others had not, and which was very considerable. This was, that on receiving their Liberty, they became at the same time *Roman* Citizens as well as their Masters. — Abundance of Abuses were introduced in these Manumissions. At first only the good Services and Qualities of the Slaves determined their Masters to give them their Liberty; but afterwards they often received it, either as the Reward of Crimes and Debauches, or in effect of the Master's Avarice, which only augmented the Corruption of Manners, in giving such bad Citizens to the Commonwealth. As Liberty always depended upon the Master, and it was the supreme Good of the Slave, those who were become Freed-men, were not only, in Gratitude, obliged to retain abundance of Respect for their Masters, but they were still subject to certain indispensible Duties. They were obliged to attend at their Master's House twice a Day, Morning and Evening, to accompany him either about the City, or in the Forum, in order to augment his Train; and they were even obliged to assist him, if he was reduced to Poverty. There were Punishments instituted for them, if they failed in these Respects; they were either obliged to return into Slavery, or were sent to work in the Mines. The Freed-men, to distinguish their Condition, had their Heads shaved, their Ears bored, and wore a kind of little Hat or Cap. — They could not marry one born the Daughter of a *Roman* Citizen; and tho' when they were first made free,

" they

" they could enjoy the Privileges annexed to the " Condition of a *Roman* Citizen, they could not " attain any but the ſmall Offices of the Common- " wealth.—They were indeed more favoured by " later Emperors, who admitted them into all the " great Offices, even the Conſulſhip. Their Chil- " dren had their Ears bored as well as the Fathers, " to diſtinguiſh them from the Citizens born of free " Parents. They were called *Libertini*. They " were capable of being regiſtered in the Tribes, " of ſerving in the *Roman* Legions, and even of " being admitted to the Dignity of Knight.

After this Account of the *Roman* Slaves, our Author enumerates the Prerogatives of the free-born Citizens. Some of them were theſe: No corporal Puniſhment could be inflicted on them, except by the Judgment of the *Roman* People, to whom they had a Right to appeal, or to the Emperor, after the Subverſion of the Commonwealth. They had the ſole Election of all Magiſtrates. They only voted in all Judgments relating to the People. They had Power of Life and Death over their Children; could ſell them for Slaves, if unmarried: They had the Diſpoſal of the Fortune of the Family. None but they could be adopted, or inherit the Eſtate of another Citizen. In order to a Will's being good, it muſt be made in the Preſence of other Citizens. They only were qualified for Offices, or being liſted in the Legions. In the Time of the Commonwealth they rarely ſuffered any greater Puniſhment than Fine or Baniſhment. " *Sylla*, during " his uſurped Dictatorſhip, was the Inventer of that " called the Proſcription of the Head, and the Pro- " hibition of Fire and Water, becauſe it extended " to Life; and ordained, that the proſcribed Per- " ſon ſhould be killed, where-ever he was found.

[*To be continued.*]

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# THE HISTORY OF THE WORKS of the LEARNED.

## For DECEMBER, 1740.

### ARTICLE XXV.

*Continuation of the Manners and Customs of the* Romans.

WE finished the preceding Article with a Specification of the Privileges of the *Roman* Citizens; which makes a Part of the seventeenth Chapter of the first Book of the Work now before us. There are but two Chapters more in this Book: The eighteenth, in which an Account is given of the Distribution of Corn to the People; the Freedom of *Rome* granted to Physicians; the Distribution of Provisions, and of Money to the People on the Accession of each Emperor; the Annihilation of the Privileges of the *Roman* Citizens; the Liberality of *Augustus* to such as had Children. And

The nineteenth; wherein our Author treats of the Privileges of married Persons; the Penalties ordained against Celibacy; Marriage, and the Cu-



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ſtoms of the Day after Marriage; Divorces; Wives retaining their Maiden Name after Marriage; the Law againſt debauching Maids; Courtezans.

After a Survey of the Honours and Advantages annexed to the matrimonial State, our Author particulariſes the Ceremonies attending the *Roman* Weddings. "The firſt thing they did was to take "the Auſpices before the Nuptials, in order to "know the Will of the Gods; and they carefully "avoided celebrating them upon one of thoſe Days, "which they held to be unfortunate.—The Mar"riage was uſually treated with the Bride's Father, "from whom ſhe was aſked. When the Contract "was drawn up, it was ſealed with the Seals of the "Parents; and ſometimes the Portion was depo"ſited in the Hands of the Augur, who had taken "the Auſpices.—The Bridegroom before the "Nuptials ſent his intended Bride an iron Ring "without any Stones in it; which was the Cere"mony of Contract. Upon the Wedding-day, in "dreſſing the Bride's Head, it was the Faſhion to "part her Hair with the Point of a Spear, and to "divide it in ſix Treſſes, after the Manner of the "Veſtals; to imply that ſhe would live chaſtely "with her Huſband. On her Head they put a "Wreath of Flowers of Vervain, and other Herbs, "which ſhe had gathered herſelf; and over that "Wreath a Veil, which was ſometimes adorned "with precious Stones. They made her put on a "Pair of Shoes of the ſame Colour of the Veil, "formed in the Manner of Stilts or Buſkins. An"ciently it was the Way among the *Latins*, to "put a Yoke upon the Necks of thoſe who affi"anced themſelves to each other, to ſignify that "Marriage is a real Yoke; and from thence it "had its *Latin* Name *Conjugium*. The firſt *Ro*"*mans* obſerved a Ceremony in their Marriages,

"which

" which they called *Confarratio*: This was, to " make the new-married Couple eat a Cake made " of Wheat, Salt, and Water, which the Prieſt " had offered to the Gods, in order to imply by " that common and ſacred Food, the indiſſoluble " Union which was to ſubſiſt between them. This " Ceremony was afterwards obſerved only in the " Marriages of the Pontiffs and Prieſthood. The " Bride was dreſſed in a long Robe quite plain, " either white or ſaffron Colour, as were uſually " the Veils worn by Brides. Her Saſh or Girdle " was made of Wool, and tied in a Knot called " *Herculean*, which the Huſband unlooſed when " ſhe was put to Bed, invoking the Goddeſs *Juno*, " that his Marriage might be as fruitful as that of " *Hercules*. They feigned to take the Bride out of " the Arms of her Mother to give her to her Huſ- " band. This was done by the Light of five " Torches of Pine-tree or White-thorn; for the " Nuptials were always celebrated in the Evening. " Theſe Torches were carried by young Children, " called *Pueri lauti*, becauſe they were waſhed and " perfumed beforehand. Their Number of Five " was myſterious, as well as the reſt of the Cere- " mony: It was in Honour of five Divinities, of " whom they ſaid thoſe who married ſtood in " need: Theſe were *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Diana*, " and the Goddeſs of Perſuaſion. The Bride was " led by two young Children, and the third carried " before her the Torch of *Hymen*, which it was " the Cuſtom of the Friends of both Parties to take " away, leſt it ſhould be made uſe of in ſome En- " chantment, that might ſhorten the Life of one of " them. While the Bride was conducted in this " Manner to her Huſband's Houſe, every one ſung " *Hymen Hymenee*, and invoked *Thalaſſius*, who " was married to one of the *Sabines* forcibly carried " off by the firſt *Romans*. A Diſtaff was carried

" behind her with a Spindle, and a Trunk or Bas-
" ket, in which were her Toilet. She was sprink-
" led with the *Lestral* or Holy Water, that she
" might enter chaste into the House of her Hus-
" band. As soon as she arrived at the Door, Fire
" and Water were presented to her, to signify that
" she was to share in the whole Fortune of her Hus-
" band. At the same time it was the Custom to
" ask her her Name; to which she answered *Caia*,
" to imply that she would be as good an House-
" wife as *Caia Cecilia*, the Mother of *Tarquinius*
" *Priscus*. She afterwards put Wool upon the
" Door, and rubbed it with Oil, or the Fat of
" Pork, or of a Wolf. The Attendants then car-
" ried her over the Threshold of the Door, taking
" particular Care that she did not touch it; and
" immediately after, the Keys of the House were
" delivered to her. —— She was then made to sit
" down on a Sheep-skin with the Wool on it, to
" put her in mind that she was to work. When
" the Marriage-feast was over, and the Husband
" was for going to Bed, the nuptial or genial Bed
" was prepared; and after the Matrons, called
" *Pronubæ*, who accompanied the Bride, had given
" her some Instructions, she was laid in it. ——
" The Batchelors and Maids, on leaving the mar-
" ried Pair, desired them to live happily together;
" and before the Door was shut, and they were left
" alone, the Husband threw Nuts to the Children,
" to divert the Attention of the Curious by the
" Noise they made in scrambling for them; at
" which time certain amorous Songs, called *Fescen-*
" *nine Verses*, were sung, to prevent any Charms
" that might prejudice the Consummation of the
" Marriage. —— The *Romans* made an Infinity of
" the Gods intervene at this Time, and ascribed
" abundance of trivial Employments to them; for
" which it was necessary to address each of them
" sepa-

" separately. The Day after the Nuptials, the " Husband made a Feast at home, at which the " Bride, who lay by her Husband on the Bed at " Table, leaned upon him with a familiar Air: " She then renounced all Shame, and talked with " so little Reserve, that to describe Discourses of " excessive Freedom, it was common to say, *She* " *talked like a Bride.* Presents were made them " that Day, and the married Pair sacrificed to the " Gods.

We now proceed to name over the Topics that are handled in the second Book of this Volume; which consists of twelve Chapters. And in the first our Author speaks of the Government of the *Romans* by Kings: of the Administration during an Interregnum: and of the Expulsion of the Regal Family. Concerning the Administration in the Time of an Interregnum he says,

" In that Season the Government was vested in " the Hands of the Senators, who ruled each in his " Turn, dividing themselves for that Purpose by " Tens, of which Numbers each had the Com- " mand for fifty Days. Every one of these ten " had the sole Authority for five Days, during " which he had all the Ensigns of the Royal Dig- " nity, and was called *Interrex.* It was he who " assembled the People for the Election of a King. " That Authority passed successively to all the rest " of the Senators, who governed as long as the " Interregnum subsisted: which Custom was also " observed during the Commonwealth, when the " Magistrates were either absent or dead, and the " State was fallen into a kind of Anarchy. If " they did not think fit to create a Dictator, " an Interrex or Governor was chosen out of " the Senate, who, after having ruled some Days, " assembled the People for the Election of Consuls, " or Military Tribunes. During the Time of that



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" Office, and of the Dictatorship, all the other " Magistrates, except the Tribunes of the People, " abdicated their Authority.

The second and third Chapters are employed in giving us an Idea of the Functions and Prerogatives of the Consulship.

The fourth Chapter affords us the like Information concerning the Decemviri; the Military Tribunes; the Dictator; and the Tribunes of the People. Therein the Causes of the Seditions of the People are assigned. Our Author moreover speaks of a Decree passed by the Senate against the Tribunes of the People; of the Respect paid to them; of a Right peculiar to them, called *Cooptation*; and of the Dissension between the Nobility and the People, with the Advantages arising from it to the Commonwealth.

In the fifth Chapter the Form of the Commonwealth is described, and the Manners of it, in the Time of *Sallust*, characterised. The Venality of the People in the latter Ages of it is set forth. Then our Author shews us the different Figure which both the State and the Senate made under the Emperors. He afterwards takes Occasion to speak of the Haughtiness of the *Roman* Citizens while the Republick flourished; and of the Respect paid to the *Roman* People, during that Period. At the Close of this Chapter he briefly displays the Degeneracy and Meanness of the Senate under the Imperial Tyranny; the Spirit of Liberty yet subsisting in the Populace, after the others had so basely subjected themselves to the Yoke; who, while they retained their Authority, had received the Homage of foreign Kings and Nations: The Cause of this shameful Alteration in their Condition is pointed out.

In the sixth Chapter our Author gives an Account of the Senators in particular; shews the Origin of that august Body, the Number of which it

was

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was compoſed, the Qualifications neceſſary for being admitted into it, and the Title by which the Members of it were diſtinguiſhed. He ends this Chapter with a ſhort Relation of the Proceedings of the Senate in its uſual Aſſemblies.

In the ſeventh Chapter he treats ſuccinctly of the Order of Knights; the Prince of the Youth; the Robe called *Auguſtus Clavus*; the Gold Ring of the Knights; the Knight-Farmers of the publick Revenues; the Nobility; the Prætor; the Prætorium; the great Prætor, or Prætor urbanus; the provincial Prætors.

In the eighth Chapter he runs over the different Tribunals at *Rome*: informs us of the Method of citing before the Prætor; with ſome other Matters concerning the Duumviri, and the publick Executioners.

The ninth Chapter treats of the Dignity and Function of the Cenſors: of the Ædiles, Curule and Plebeian: of the Quæſtors, of various Sorts: of the Comptrollers of the Quæſtors: of the Proconſuls: of the inferior Officers of the Commonwealth. In this Chapter our Author tells us how the *Romans* were wont to reduce the conquered Countries into Provinces.

In the tenth Chapter we have the Laws of the Auſpices: The Manner of electing Magiſtrates, and of aſſembling the *Comitia curiata* for that Purpoſe. We have the different *Comitia* diſtinguiſhed and explained. We ſee the Advantage the Nobility had in the *Comitia centuriata*; with a Diverſity of Particulars regarding the Tranſactions of thoſe Conventions.

The eleventh Chapter ſpeaks of three different Kinds of Magiſtrates; thoſe ſtyled Curule, thoſe of the Colonies, and thoſe of the municipal Cities. The Right of *Latium* is here illuſtrated.

With reference to this last our Author tells us: "The first Allies of the Commonwealth were the "*Latines*; to whom, by the Treaty of Alliance, "which she made with them about the Year 261, "she granted the Right of being admitted to give "their Suffrages in the Assemblies at *Rome*, when "the Magistrate who presided in them, should "summon them thither, and there was no Opposi- "tion on the Side of his Colleagues; Clauses, which "rendered that Right almost insignificant, as if "granted rather by way of Honour, than with the "View of really taking Place. Accordingly they "were seldom called in to give their Suffrages, ex- "cept in Times of Division. A more real Grace "was the Freedom of *Rome*, which devolved to "their principal Magistrate by the Expiration of "his Office to such of the States of *Latium*, before all "of them were *Roman* Citizens, which Right was "granted them in Process of Time, had retained "the Liberty of electing one of their Citizens by "Plurality of Voices, to govern them, according "to their peculiar Laws, under the Title of *Prae-* "*tor*. And this was called the Right of *Latium*, "or of the Allies of the Commonwealth."

In the twelfth Chapter we have an Account of the Maxims of State under the Emperors, and the Change they made in the publick Offices of the Prefect of the Treasury, *Praefectus Praetorio*, &c. of the *Roman* Magistrates, both of the Sword and Robe, of the Name of *Emperor*, and the Manner of acknowledging a new one, of the Empire becoming elective, and of the Division of it, of the Imperial Diadem.

*Augustus* made the Title of *Praefect* so common, that those who bore it could be distinguished only by their respective Functions. The Praefectus Praetorio was of this Number, and was, in modern

modern Language, the Captain of his Guards. "At first none were chose to fill this Place, except "out of the Order of the Knights; but after the "Emperor *Maurice*, who had been invested with "it himself before he attained the Empire, the "Senators and Persons of Consular Dignity thought "it an Honour to possess it: And from thence-"forth the Power of that Praefect augmented in "such a manner, that he became the second Person "of the Empire. This Charge was not single at "the Beginning. *Augustus* created two of these "Officers, and there were three of them under se-"veral Emperors; at which Time their Authority "was not so extensive as it was afterwards: for it "was confined to the Decision of the Differences "that arose amongst the Soldiery. But when it "became a sole Command, the Person who possess-"sed it was called in to try almost all Affairs, and "became the principal Magistrate for administring "Justice. Appeals lay from all other Tribunals to "his, from which there was none except to the "Emperor. The Title of *Senator* was annexed to "this Office, in order that he might have the Title "*Clarissimus*, *Most Illustrious*, as well as them; "and his Jurisdiction extended over all the Presi-"dents, or Governors of Provinces, and even over "the Financers: He could also make Laws. To "conclude, at the highest Elevation of his Power, "he united in his own Person the Authority and "Functions of the Constable, Chancellor, and Su-"perintendant of the Finances, or Lord High "Treasurer of *France*. It was in these Times that "this Officer had Vicars under him, whose Juris-"diction extended over a certain Extent of Country "called a *Diocese*, which contained several princi-"pal Cities. He was appointed by the Emperor, "who put a Sword and Belt on him, which were "the Ensigns of his Office. After that Ceremony

"he

" he appeared in publick, in a gilt Chariot, drawn
" by four Horses abreast; and the Herald, who
" went before, called him in the midst of Accla-
" mations the Father of the Empire. However,
" this Ceremony was not introduced till this Charge
" was become the first in the Empire.

We are now come to the third Part of this Work, containing eight Chapters. In the first our Author treats of the *Roman* Coins: of the Diminution of the Weight of the Species: of the publick Treasury: of the Silver Money: of the Mixture and Alteration of Coins: of their several Denominations in Reckoning: of the great Sestertium, and of the Talent.

" The Poverty of the first *Romans* did not suf-
" fer them to coin any; they were almost two Cen-
" turies without Species, making use of Copper in
" Lumps, which they paid by Weight. *Numa*,
" their second King, for the better Conveniency,
" caused Copper to be cut grosly into Pieces of a
" Pound consisting of twelve Ounces, without any
" Mark. They were called from that rude Form
" *As rudis*, and served instead of Money. Their
" sixth King, *Servius Tullius*, changed this gross
" Form, and for the first time caused round Pieces
" of the same Weight and Value to be made, with
" the Impression of an Ox upon them. These were
" called *As librales* and *Libella*, because they weigh-
" ed a Pound. Letters were also added to them,
" to express their Weight and Value, which last
" was always proportionable to the first. The hea-
" viest of all was the *Decussis*, which weighed and
" was worth ten *Asses*, from whence it was called
" *Denarius*. It had an X upon it, to signify its
" Value. The *Quadrussis* was with four, the *Tre-*
" *cussis*, three; and the *Sestertius* one and a half.
" The last was always the fourth part of a *Denarius*,
" notwithstanding all the Changes that were made

" in

" in their Coins; and to express its Value, it was " marked with two great Is, with a cross Stroke " in the middle, and an S after them in this manner, " I S. The *Dupondius* was worth two *Asses*, as " the two Points upon it signified. The *As* was " also subdivided into small Parts, of which the " Names are as follow. The *Deunx* weighed ele- " ven Ounces; the *Dextans*, ten; the *Dodrans*, " nine; the *Bes*, eight; the *Septunx*, seven; the " *Semissis*, which was the half Pound, six; the " *Quincunx*, five; the *Trions*, which was the third " part of an *As*, four; the *Quadrans*, or fourth " part, three; the *Sextans*, or sixth part, two; " the *Uncia*, or Ounce.

" In the first *Punic* War, the Necessities of the " Commonwealth were so great, that she was ob- " liged to reduce the *As* from twelve to the Weight " of two Ounces, and all the rest in proportion, " tho' their Value was continued the same. In the " second *Punic* War it was again reduced to one " half in Value, that is to say, to one Ounce, and " all other Species in proportion. Most of the " *Asses* of the Weight of one Ounce had the double " Head of a *Janus* on one Side, and the Prow of " a Ship on the other.

" It was not till the 485th Year of *Rome*, that " Silver Money was first coined there, which they " named according to the Species of Copper; so " that the Silver *Denarius* was worth ten Copper " *Asses*, the Silver *Sestertius* two and a half, or the " fourth of the *Denarius*, and the rest in propor- " tion. These first Silver *Denarii* weighed an " Ounce, and the Impression on them was either " a Woman's Head with an Helmet on it, to re- " present the City of *Rome*, or a Victory leading a " Chariot with two or four Horses a-breast, which " occasioned them to be called *Bigati*, or *Quadri-* " *gati*, and on the Reverse the Figure of a *Castor*

" and

and *Pollux*. Sixty two Years after they had first coined Silver Species, that is to say, about the 547th Year of *Rome*, they began to coin Gold also, which was called *Nummus aureus*, or Gold *Denarius*, because it was worth ten in Silver, which was the most usual Proportion observed by the *Romans* between the Value of Gold and Silver. Smaller Pieces of Gold were coined under the Emperors, with their Heads on them. The *Nummus aureus* or Gold *Denarius*, was at first the fortieth part of the Pound of twelve Ounces; each *Denarius* of Gold weighing near two Drachmas and a half, and eight Drachmas making an Ounce. But afterwards, the Value of Money having changed from time to time, the Silver *Denarius* was reduced to the Proportion of fifteen to the Pound of twelve Ounces. It was in that Proportion under *Julius Cæsar*; but afterwards it came to that of twenty four, thirty six, and forty. The *Denarius* of Gold continued at the Proportion of forty to the Pound, and was always worth ten Silver *Denarii*, as the latter were ten *Asses* of Brass. That of Silver was at length reduced to fourscore and sixteen to the Pound, or the Weight of one Drachma; from whence in several Places of the *Roman* History, the one is used for the other. The Pieces of Gold in time were not so heavy: They were reduced to the Proportion of forty-five, fifty, and fifty-five, to the Pound. It is next to impossible to follow all the Variations of this kind, which were very frequent under the Emperors; some of them making their Weight more, and some less.

It is observed, that to prevent Coiners from counterfeiting the Species, the *Romans* under the Emperors coined some indented, or in a manner carved, all round the Edges, which served instead

stead of the Ring used by the Moderns on their Money.

Their Coins were not entirely Silver, or pure Gold; From the Time of the Commonwealth we find that they sometimes mingled Brass with Silver. The Emperor *Alexander Severus* caused Gold to be coined, of which one fifth was Silver. This Mixture was called *Electrum*. *Julius Cæsar* was the first, who, by Decree of the Senate, caused his Head to be stamped on the Coins. About the 294th Year of the Christian Æra, Pieces of Gold were coined of seventy-two to the Pound. The great *Sestertium* in the neuter, was only a Term of Computation, signifying a thousand small *Sestertii*, or two hundred and fifty *Roman Denarii*.

The Manner of computing amongst the *Romans*, was either by *Sestertes* or *Asses*. They used also the Term *Talanta*, in Imitation of the *Greeks*, and considered it sometimes as Weight, and sometimes as a Sum. As Weight, it was 125 Pounds; as Money, it was reckoned upon the same Foot as amongst the *Greeks*, with whom it was valued at sixty *Minæ*, or 6000 Drachmas.

In the second Chapter we have an Account of the Revenues of the *Roman* State, of the Taxes paid by the Commonwealth of Colonies: of the publick Magazines: of the Journeys made by Order of the Emperors: of the Rapine and Oppression of Governors of the Imperial Procurators: of the Emperor's Treasury.

With regard to the Revenues of the State, our Author says; "The first Kings of *Rome*, besides their private Estate, had only the Product of a Capitation-Tax, which was the same to Rich and Poor, and a Duty rais'd upon Provisions carried to Market, and principally upon Roots

" and

" and Herbs, which was the most usual Food of
" those early Times: But that Duty was abolished
" at the Birth of the Commonwealth. This Reve-
" nue was augmented by the Salt-works, which the
" King *Ancus Marcius* caused to be made near
" *Ostia*. —— The Revenues of the Commonwealth
" augmented in proportion as she made new Con-
" quests. —— It is certain than Gold and Silver
" were far from being plenty at *Rome*, till she ex-
" tended her Conquests out of *Italy*; on the con-
" trary, they seemed to be exceedingly scarce, as in
" the Year 359 from its Foundation, when *Ca-*
" *millus*, after the Taking the City of *Veii*, where
" he had vowed the tenth part of the Booty to
" *Apollo*, was for having that Present made into a
" Gold Cup, in order to its being sent to *Delphi*.
" There being no Money in the Treasury except
" Copper or Brass, the State was obliged, for dis-
" charging that Vow, to have Recourse to the
" *Roman* Ladies, who voluntarily contributed their
" Rings and Ornaments of Gold, and were reim-
" bursed the Value in Copper Money. But after
" the Commonwealth had extended her Conquests
" beyond *Italy*, Gold began to grow common,
" and the publick Treasury augmented in such a
" manner, that after *Paulus Æmilius* had conquer-
" ed *Macedonia* in the 586th Year of *Rome*, the
" *Roman* People were exempted from paying the
" annual Taxes. —— *Augustus* drew from the con-
" quered Provinces which paid their Tribute in
" Money (there being several that paid in Provi-
" sions) 20,000,000 Sterling. ——

" The Taxes of the Commonwealth were of
" different Sorts; for besides the Capitation, each
" Person paid one in proportion to his whole Estate,
" of which the Estimation was made by the Cen-
" sors. —— The Tribute, which the *Romans* most
" commonly imposed upon the Provinces they had

" subjected,

" subjected, was the Capitation. —— *Cicero* men-
" tions three Kinds of Imposts, which he calls
" *Portoria*, *Decumæ*, and *Scripturæ*. The first
" included the Duties laid upon Merchandise brought
" into the Ports of *Italy*: The second was the
" Tenth of the Fruits of the Earth, which was le-
" vied in Kind on certain Provinces; and the third
" was the Rents paid by those who held the con-
" quered Lands, which had been annexed to the
" Domains of the Commonwealth. —— Besides
" these, there was also the Product of the Gold,
" Silver, and Lead Mines in *Spain*, and elsewhere;
" and from the 397th Year of *Rome*, the twentieth
" part of what Slaves made free were worth. Under
" *Tiberius* this was a twenty-fifth; one *per Cent.*
" being then also paid for Goods sold voluntarily,
" and two for those sold by Auction. *Augustus*
" exacted a twentieth of Inheritances, in the collá-
" teral Line; and ordained, that in the Will of
" every Person of Fortune there should be a Lega-
" cy for the Emperor; without which it could not
" be executed. This Ordinance was abolished by
" *Antoninus Pius*. All these together formed a ca-
" sual Revenue, which amounted to very conside-
" rable Sums, exclusive of the Tributes of the Pro-
" vinces, and the Duties which some of them paid
" in Kind, as *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, upon which the
" Tenth of all Grain was levied. —— The other
" Provinces, instead of a tenth, paid a twentieth,
" or a fortieth, of wheat and Barley, and a twen-
" tieth of Wine and Bacon. After the *Frisii* were
" subjected to the Empire, they were made to pay
" a certain Quantity of Ox-hydes by way of Tri-
" bute, which were applied to the Use of the Ar-
" mies. There was also Fiscal or Revenue Corn,
" so called, because it was a Part of the Demesnes
" of the Commonwealth. —— The hundredth Part
" of the Grain, and the two hundredth of the other

" Fruits

" Fruits of the Earth, were levied in *Cappadocia*.
" —— Beſides this, a Toll or Cuſtom was paid in
" ſome Places by certain Merchandiſes, as well as
" in the Ports of *Italy*. The Salt, which the People
" were obliged to buy of thoſe who farmed it, was
" alſo Part of the Revenues of the State. Theſe
" were the uſual Impoſts: But the Emperors ſome-
" times exacted others. ——

" Beſides the publick Treaſury, the Emperors
" had one peculiar to themſelves, which was their
" Exchequer, and into which the Money ariſing
" from Confiſcations, Fines, Legacies, the Pre-
" ſents made them when they came to the Empire,
" and at the Time of their Adoption, New-years
" Gifts, and laſtly, the *Aurum coronarium*, which
" *Italy* and the other Provinces remitted from time
" to time; ſo called, becauſe that voluntary Gift
" conſiſted at firſt in Crowns of Gold, which in
" Proceſs of Time was changed into a certain
" Quantity of Gold. This Gift was renewed at
" the Election of every Emperor, on each Adop-
" tion of a Succeſſor, on the Occaſion of his Mar-
" riage, or the Birth of his Children, and ſome-
" times on his Return from ſome Voyage or Enter-
" priſe.

Having thus computed the Revenues of the *Roman* State, our Author, in the third Chapter, takes a Survey of the Forces of it, both by Land and Sea: He ſets before us the Manner of their naval Engagements, and of their Levies: He then ſpeaks of the Legions, the Number of Cohorts they contained, their Enſigns, the Honours that were paid to theſe, their high Eſtimation of them, and Confidence in their Protection.

" When the Armies were encamped, the Eagles
" were planted in the Front of the Tribunal, which
" was always at the General's Tent. In the Time
" of the Emperors, there were other Officers called

*Image-*

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" *Knight-bearer*, from carrying the Portrait of the " Emperor in the Form of a great Medal on the " Top of a Pike, in the same Manner as the Ea- " gle. The Staff of this Enfign was generally so " laden with Ornaments of the same Metal, that a " very strong Man could scarce carry it. The " Army had so great a Veneration for these Enfigns, " that they never passed them without saluting them. " The Soldiers swore by them when they would " certify any thing. The Spoils and Prisoners of " War were placed with them, as in an assured " Asylum. The Officers and Soldiers of the Le- " gions deposited their Money where the Eagles " were planted, and the *Eagle-bearer* had the Care " of it.

In the first Times of *Rome*, the Enfigns of her " Armies were only a Bundle of Grass or Hay " fastened to the End of a Pole, which was called " *Manipulus Fœni*, and occasioned the Name of " *Maniple* to be given the Companies that follow- " ed these Enfigns.

The fourth Chapter includes an Account of the *Roman* Cavalry: of the military Instruments: of the Cuiraſſes: of the Arms of the Horſe: of the Fencing-masters to the Armies: of the Prætorian Soldiers, and their Pay: of the Time that the Soldiers were obliged to serve: of Inlisting of Soldiers.

In the fifth Chapter our Author treats of the Ignorance of the primitive *Romans* in the Art of War: He gives a great Commendation of their Military Discipline; especially during the Commonwealth: He assigns the Causes of the Insolence of the *Roman* Soldiery: Mentions the Exactness that was observed in paying the Troops: and shows what Troops their Armies were composed of.

In the sixth Chapter he endeavours to give us a Notion of their Encampments and Decampments:

of their Manner of Living in the Fields of the March of *Vespasian*'s Army, from *Josephus*, who has described it: of the extraordinary Respect that was paid to the Condition of a Soldier.

The seventh Chapter contains an Account of the Machines used by the *Romans* in their Wars, instead of Artillery: of their Fortifications: of the Tortoise for scaling Walls: of the Manner of attacking Places: of Mines made for throwing down Ramparts: of the Tortoise in the open Field: of the Order of Battle: of military Wills.

The eighth Chapter does the like in relation to military Rewards and Punishments: the Ceremoniale practised on quitting the Service: the Severity of military Discipline: the Honour of Triumph: the Qualifications for obtaining it: its Description: the Ovation, or lesser Triumph: the Fœtiales.

We are now come to the fourth and last Book of this Volume, consisting of four Chapters.

In the first we have a brief Representation of the Religion of the *Romans*: of the Pontiffs, Augurs, Aruspices, and Vestals: of the Functions of these last: of their Punishment on the Score of Unchastity, their Privileges, the Liberties allowed them, and their stately Attendance.

In the second we have divers Particulars concerning the Duumviri who kept the Books of the Sybils: the Quindecimviri: the Worship paid to the Gods: the Origin of the publick Games: the Thanksgivings for Success in War: the sacred Games, Funeral Games, and those of the Circus. Besides touching upon these Topics, our Author has described the *Roman* Circus's, and the *Pyrrhic* Dance.

In the third we have an Account of the Scenic Games, or Games of the Theatre: a Description of the Theatres; with the Entertainments there: of the Games of the Amphitheatre: of the excessive Passion

Passion of the *Romans* for publick Shews: of their Hunting and Fishing.

" The first Actors who appeared at *Rome* were " only Players of Farces or Strollers, and Dancers " or Tumblers from *Hetruria*. They were indebted " to their Knowledge of the *Greek* Theatre for their " Taste of good Comedy, and Comedians to re- " present it. These Shews, which till then were " gross and very void of Art, were scarce inferior " to those of the *Greeks*, among whom the Authors " of Dramatic Pieces were often the principal Actors " in them. ..... It was not the same amongst the " *Romans*; every Citizen was prohibited to mount " the Stage. It was not only a Matter of Exclu- " sion from the Offices of the Commonwealth, but " an Action that merited Correction, and for " which the Censor would not have failed to re- " move the Culpable from his Tribe. Under the " Emperors indeed this Law was not always ob- " served with so much Strictness as under the Com- " monwealth. For *Augustus* sometimes employed " Knights in the Representation of Comedies. " However, as the extreme Taste which the young " Nobility had taken for the scenic Games, was " observed afterwards to have made them so great " Admirers of good Actors, that they took Plea- " sure in imitating them, and induced them to as- " sociate themselves with them in a Manner little " suitable to their Rank, a Regulation was made " under the Emperor *Tiberius*, to prohibit all Sena- " tors from going to the Houses of Comedians, " and all Knights from appearing in the Streets of " *Rome* with them.

" The Instruments of Music among the *Romans*, " almost all of them either string or wind In- " struments, were however different from ours. " We do not find that their Music, which they had " borrowed from the *Greeks*, consisted of different

Parts; and it seems probable that this was only Unison, or full Chorus. Neither had they the Use of Notes; which were not invented till the eleventh Century by *Guido d'Arezzo*; to supply which they made use of a Series of Tones and Semi-tones, to which they gave different Names.

In the last Chapter of this Book we have an Account of the Apotheosis: Of the Rites relating to the Dead: of the *Roman* Tombs, Sepulchres, and Mourning: of Gladiators.

Among the Rites regarding the Dead, our Author describes the Funeral Ceremonies. After the Completion of those which were performed in the Houses of the Deceased, and which took up seven Days, a publick Herald proclaimed as follows: *This is to give Notice to all who desire to be present at the Obsequies of such an one, the Son of such an one, that they go to them directly; for the Corpse is now bringing out of the House.* Only the Relations or Friends of the Deceased were present, unless the Deceased had rendered considerable Services to the Commonwealth; in which Case the People attended the Funeral: and if he had commanded the Armies, the Soldiers repaired thither, reversing their Arms with the Points downwards; the Lictors also reversed their Fasces. The Corpse was carried on a little Bed called *Exaphora*, when only six carried it; and *Octophora*, when eight. They were usually the Relations of the Deceased, who did this Office in Honour of him, or his Sons, if he had any. For an Emperor, the Bed was carried by the Senators; and for a General, by Officers or Soldiers. As to the People of mean Condition, they were carried in a kind of open Bier by four Men, called *Vespillones*, who got their Living by that Business.

The Visage of the Deceased was uncovered, " with

"with a Crown of Flowers upon his Head; unless "his Sickness had entirely disfigured him, in which "Case Care was taken to cover it. After the "Masters of the Ceremony of the Procession had "placed each according to his Rank, it began by "the Performers on the Flute, who played a "mournful Air. They were followed by People "carrying lighted Torches. Near the Bed was an "*Archimime*, who counterfeited the Behaviour of "the Deceased, and all the Ensigns of the Digni-"ties he had enjoyed, were carried before the Bed. "If he had signalized himself in War, the Rewards "and Crowns which he had received for his great "Actions were displayed, as well as the Standards "and Spoils he had taken from the Enemy. His "Busto was also carried in Wax, with those of his "Ancestors and Kindred, upon the Ends of Spears, "or in Chariots; unless he was one of those called "*Novi Homines*, that is, the first Nobles of their "Family, whose Ancestors could do him no Ho-"nour. Neither were the Busto's of those who had "been condemned for Crimes permitted to be borne "on these Occasions, tho' they had possessed Dig-"nities. At the Funerals of Emperors, the "Images and Symbols of the conquered Provinces "and Cities were carried in Chariots. The Freed-"men of the Deceased followed this Pomp, wear-"ing the Cap which was the Badge of their Liberty. "After them came his Children, Relations, and "Friends, dressed in Black. The Sons had Veils "on their Heads, and the Hair of the Daughters "hung loose. The latter had nothing on their "Heads, and walked barefoot, dressed in White. After "them came the *Præfiæ*. These were Women "whose Business it was to make Lamentations for "the Death of the Deceased, to sing his Praises to "a mournful Air, weeping, and speak the Sorrow "of all the rest. When the Defunct was an illu-

" strious Person, his Body was carried to the *Forum Romanum*, where the Procession stopped, whilst " one of his Children or nearest Relations made his " Funeral Oration. This was not practised only " in respect to Men, but Ladies of Condition also. " —— From hence the Body was carried to a Place " where it was either to be burnt or interred. If " the first, they went to the Field of *Mars*, where " Care had been taken to erect a Pile of Yew, " Pine, and other Wood easy to be set on fire, " disposed upon each other in Form of an Altar, " upon which the Corpse was placed, dressed in his " Robes. They also sprinkled it with scented " Liquors. The Face was turned towards the Sky, " and a Piece of Money, which was commonly an " *Obolus*, put into the Mouth, to pay *Charon* for " passing the River *Styx*. The whole Pile was " next covered on all Sides with Cypress, when the " Deceased's nearest Relations, turning their Backs " upon the Pile, set it on fire with Torches which " they held behind them; and whilst the Fire " spread, they threw into it the Habits, Arms, " and other things in which the Defunct had most " delighted, and sometimes even Gold and Silver. " —— Oxen, Bulls, and Sheep were also killed " and thrown into the Pile; and soon after Com- " bats of Gladiators were exhibited to appease the " *Manes* of the Dead. —— Chariot-races were some- " times ran round the Funeral Pile, different The- " atrical Pieces were represented there, and thro' " an Excess of Magnificence, Feasts were given " to the Assistants and People.

When the Body was consumed, the Bones and Ashes of it were carefully collected by the Deceased's nearest Relation or Heirs. These, as our Author proceeds, " were washed with Milk and Wine, " and were put into an Urn of more or less Value, " according to the Wealth and Quality of the De- " funct,

" funct, in order to be depositted in the Tomb of " the Family. — The Sacrificer, who had assisted " at the Ceremony, afterwards sprinkled the Assist- " ants three times, with a Sprinkler made of Olive- " branches, in order to purify them. And lastly, " the principal *Pontifex* dismissed the Company, " with saying, *Ilicet*; that is to say, *You may now* " *depart*: Upon which the Relations and Friends " of the Defunct cried out three times, *Vale, vale,* " *vale, Farewell*, calling him by his Name, and " adding these Words; *Te Ordine, quo Natura* " *permiserit, cuncti sequemur; We shall all follow* " *you, in the Course of Nature, as it comes to our* " *Turns*. The Urn in which the Ashes were, was " carried to the Sepulchre, before which there was a " little Altar, whereon Incense and other Perfumes " were burnt; a Ceremony renewed from time to " time, as well as that of strewing Flowers upon " the Tomb. As to those whose Bodies were not " burnt, they were commonly put into earthen Biers " or open Coffins; or, if they were Persons of " Distinction, into a Tomb of Stone or Marble, " in which a perpetual Lamp was placed, and " sometimes little Figures of the Gods, with small " Phials, called *Lachrymatoria*, because they con- " tained the Tears shed at their Funeral. — The " Ceremony concluded with a Feast, which was " usually a Supper given to the Deceased's Friends " and Relations; and sometimes Provisions were " distributed to the People. Nine Days after there " was another Feast called the great Supper, or " *Novemdialis*. At this Entertainment it was the " Custom, to quit black, and to put on white " Robes.

This Article shall close with some Particulars of what our Author has said concerning the *Roman* Gladiators. " There were twelve Sorts of them, " who took their Names either from the Arms with

which they fought, or the different Kinds of Combat to which they were destined. There were some who fought without defensive Arms; some armed at all points; others only with the Bucker; some fought on Horseback in Chariots, and there were even some whom they obliged to fight blindfold. There were Persons called *Lanistæ*, into whose Hands the Prisoners intended for those Fights were put, to be taught how to use their Arms well. These *Lanistæ* bought strong and robust Slaves, whom they prepared for these Exercises, and obliged them to fight. It was to these Masters such applied as desired to exhibit gladiatorial Shews, who after having agreed upon the Price, furnished a proportionate Number of Pairs of Gladiators, because they always fought by Pairs. In Process of Time, the principal Persons of the Commonwealth had Gladiators of their own, whom they used when they gave Games to the People, and sometimes on Occasions wherein they thought proper to employ Force.

The Profession of Gladiator was always reputed infamous, tho' some of the Emperors were so depraved as to exercise it themselves. *Nero* also compelled six hundred Knights, and three hundred Senators, to appear in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, whom he obliged to fight either with each other, or with wild Beasts. There were some indeed of these two principal Orders of the Empire, who were mean enough to offer voluntarily to fight as Gladiators upon the *Arena*, thro' a shameful Complacency for the Prince. It was in these Times that even the *Roman* Ladies were seen to exercise the same Function voluntarily, and to fight in the Amphitheatre with one another, or with wild Beasts.

" It

"It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish two "Kinds of Gladiators; those who were so against "their Will, as Slaves and Prisoners of War de- "stined to this Profession, such as were condemned "to it by way of Punishment; and those who, tho' "free, followed it voluntarily, either through the "Degeneracy of the Times, or the extreme Indi- "gence to which they were reduced.

"The Gladiators generally appeared upon the "Stage by Pairs, that formed so many single Com- "bats. As soon as one of them was wounded, the "People did not fail to cry out immediately, *He "has it*; and if the wounded Combatant laid down "his Arms that Moment, it was a Sign that he "declared himself conquered: But his Life de- "pended on the Spectators, or on the Person who "presided at those Games. —— When a Gladiator "fought bravely, and was wounded, the People "interposed for the Preservation of his Life; but "on the contrary, if he behaved like a Coward in "the Battle, they did not fail to demand his Death. "To signify that his Life should be spared, the "People only held up one Hand with the Thumb "bent; and to express that it was their Will he "should die, it sufficed to shew the Hand with the "Thumb raised. The wounded Gladiators knew "so well That to be the Signal of their Destruction, "that as soon as they perceived it, it was their "Custom to present their Throats in order to re- "ceive the mortal Stroke. Their Bodies were re- "moved from the *Arena* with an Hook. —— It "was not till the Reign of *Constantine*, the first "Christian Emperor, that the first Step was put "to these bloody Sights, of which the Use was ut- "terly abolished by the Emperors *Honorius* and "*Arcadius*.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE XXVI.

*Some Inquiries chiefly relating to Spiritual Beings: In which the Opinion of Mr. Hobbes with regard to Sensation, immaterial Substance, and the Attributes of the Deity, are taken notice of: And wherein likewise is examined, how far the Supposition of an invisible Tempter is defensible on the Principles of natural Reason. In four Dialogues. By* VIN. PERRONET, *A. M.* London: *Printed for* J. *and* P. Knapton, *in* Ludgate-street. 1740. Octavo. *Pages* 105.

THE two first of these Dialogues are designed to give those Readers who have not been conversant in this kind of Studies, some intelligible Notion concerning material and immaterial Substances; the Sensations of the Soul; and what ought to be understood by the Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness of God. In the third, the Opinion of the *Magi*, with respect to their two Principles, is considered: as also the ancient Notion of tutelary Deities; and *Plutarch*'s Account of what appeared to *Brutus*. In the last there is an Attempt to shew, how far the Influence of an invisible evil Being may be admitted, without any impious or absurd Consequences. *Cebes* and *Phædo* are the Speakers. The first is an *Hobbist*; the latter an *Immaterialist*.

In the first Conference, where spiritual Substance and Sensation are the Topics, our Interlocutors borrow their Arguments chiefly from the *Leviathan* on one hand, and from Mr. *Locke*'s incomparable Essay, or Dr. *Clarke*'s Answers to *Collins*, on the other. Which last have, I think, superseded the Need of any thing more being written on this Subject. We may say

of

of these invaluable Pieces, much the same as *Abraham* did of *Moses* and the Prophets; "If Men will not be convinced thereby, of the Impossibility of Matter's Thinking, neither would they be persuaded thereof tho' even a Philosopher from Heaven should affirm it." However, this will not excuse me from shewing the Reader in what Manner Mr. *Perronet* has followed the two illustrious Persons I have mentioned, in discoursing on this useful Truth. Accordingly,

After a Preamble, wherein some things are laid on both Sides for leading them to the Point, the *Hobbist*, *Cebes*, asks our Author, "*Phædo*," "By "what Method he shall be able to frame a just and "clear Idea of such a Substance as is called *immaterial*?" To which *Phædo* replies, "Only by "turning the Eyes of the Mind upon itself, and "viewing its various Faculties and Operations. "From hence may a Man frame as perfect an Idea "of an *immaterial* Substance, as he can of a mate"rial one, by viewing the grossest Body in Na"ture." Wherever then, says *Cebes*, "Thinking "and Willing, and a Power of *Self-motion* are to "be met with, I must immediately conclude, there "is an immaterial Principle." Certainly, says *Phædo*, "for *Matter* is demonstrably inactive and "lifeless." And yet, rejoins *Cebes*, "this dull "and dead Matter, as you are pleased to suppose "it, is not only capable of becoming, merely by "the Operation of other Bodies upon it, so very "active and volatile, as even to fly away from us, "and sometimes so powerful, as to quicken Men "that are half-dead themselves; but is able to shake "the Earth almost to the very Centre." To this *Phædo* says, "When Matter is called inactive and "lifeless, we must not imagine, it is thereby pro"nounced incapable of having Motion communi"cated, or even a Principle of Life united to it.

"Nothing

"Nothing more is meant by these Terms, but that "neither Motion nor Life are essential to it. That "no vital Power can ever arise from any Alte"ration the Parts of it can undergo; and that, "when once it is at rest, it must remain in that "State for ever, unless put in Motion by something "else." He adds, "But suppose that all Matter "was in perpetual Motion, and as subtil and "moveable as the most lively Imagination can ap"prehend it; yet what has all this to do with *Sense* "or *Perception?* what Likeness or Resemblance "between them? —— And as to all the amazing "Effects which may be produced by the Opera"tion of Bodies, here is evidently nothing more than "*Matter* and *Motion*." To all this *Cebes* answers, "It is allowed that the Scent of a Rose, and the "Heat of Fire, are nothing in the Bodies them"selves, but the particular Motion of their smaller "Parts; Wherefore, since Motion can only pro"duce Motion, these sensible Qualities can be no"thing else in us besides so many different Motions. "And consequently, Motion and Perception are "only different Names for the same thing." According to this Doctrine, says *Phædo*, we may say, "that a Rose is sensible of its own Fra"grancy, and a Fire of its own Heat; or that we "ourselves are sensible of neither. For if our Per"ceptions are nothing but so many various Mo"tions, and the Motions of the Parts of Body, the "same with Perceptions, one or the other must "evidently follow. Especially if you suppose, as "you seem to do, that no Matter whatever is al"together inanimate. But would it not be more "philosophical to say, that these Motions of Bo"dies without us are capable of exciting others "within us; and that these occasion Variety of "Perceptions; which Perceptions are themselves "the immediate Affection or Property of some

"certain

certain Principle, widely different and distinct from the Body? *Cebes* in Reply to this asks, When Objects affect us from without, is it not by the different Motion of their Parts, that they excite certain Ideas or Phantasms in us? *Are not these occasioned by the Pressure of outward Objects, and Counter-pressure of the Organs; by the Motion from without being continued on by the Nerves and Membranes, to the Brain and Heart, from whence arises a Resistance or Counter-pressure of the Spirit, and which Motion, thus rebating outwards, appears as if it was somewhere without the Organ?* But are not these *Phantasms*, or *Appearances*, the very *Sensations*, or Acts of Sensation itself? To this *Phædo* says, When the Rays of Light are reflected, from any Object, and pass thro' the different Coats and Humours of the Eye, is there not thereby painted at the Bottom of it a certain Picture of such Object? But shall we say that such Picture discerns or perceives itself? If it does not, how can that very Phantasm or Appearance be the very Sensation, or Act of Sensation itself? Must they not be just as different as the Picture of Things is different from the Seeing of them; or as a Clap of Thunder from the Sense of Hearing?

Notwithstanding all this, *Cebes* professes himself still an Enemy to the absolute *Principles* of Matter, and inclined to think that all Nature is animated. For tho' for want of the proper Organs of Animals, whatever *Ideas* might arise from the Reaction of other Bodies, such *Ideas*, or Phantasms, would immediately cease, upon the Removal of the Object. And therefore these [supposed inanimate] Bodies would only so perceive as never to remember their own Perceptions. And therefore some Kind of Memory, and likewise a perpetual Variety of *Phantasms*, are ne-

" cessary

"ment to constitute that *Sensation*, which is strict-
"ly and properly such; Which is the wide
"Difference between our Sensations and those of
"unorganized Bodies."

*Phædo* treats this Doctrine, which is not only a merely precarious but apparently absurd Supposition, with the Ridicule it merits. Whereupon *Cebes* proceeds to invalidate, as far as he is able, the Argument for the Immateriality of the Soul, from the Authority of the Ancients. He acknowledges, "that Men were anciently possessed of an Opinion, "that the Soul was a *distinct Substance* from the "Body; but he ascribes it to the Contagion of the "*Great Dæmonology*." And he takes notice, that the Men, "who held the Soul to subsist by virtue "of its own Nature, did not acknowledge therein "any supernatural Gift of God.

*Phædo* joins issue with him, as to the Antiquity of the Opinion; but as to the Origin of it, he differs widely; for he is perswaded, that "many of "the best and wisest of the Ancients believed the "Soul to be a spiritual and immortal Being, from "contemplating the Operations of their own "Minds."

Hereupon *Cebes* attacks him in like manner as the *Sadducees* did our Saviour, with the Case of a Woman who had been married to seven Brothren, by which they intended very wisely to overthrow the Doctrine of a future State. So here our *Hebrew* thinks he shall subvert the Notion of the Souls Immateriality and distinct Subsistance in a Separate State, by putting a mighty puzzling Query to *Phædo*; "What is an immaterial Substance to do "in such a State, since it can never move itself, "nor change its Place? Can Motion and Place be "intelligible of *Substances incorporeal*, or of any "thing but Bodies?" *Phædo* answers, "If the "Soul be allowed to be an incorporeal Substance,"

"I

"I should take it to be an active and self-moving "Principle; and should therefore as soon doubt of "its Existence, as whether Motion belonged to it. "Nor can I conceive, but it must exist some "*where*, or in some *Place*. And what should pre- "vent its moving from either, I see not." Well, but then *Cebes* starts another Absurdity against an incorporeal Soul; "For we must be- "lieve that *all* of it is in the little Finger, and *all* "of it in every other Part. — And the late Dr. "*Clarke* himself maintains, That *the Soul can nei-* "*ther act, or be acted upon, where it is not pre-* "*sent.*" To obviate this, *Phædo* observes, that the learned Doctor likewise maintains, "That the "Soul is not *omnipresent* to every Part of the Body, "and therefore does not, and cannot itself actually "operate upon every Part of the Body, but only "upon the Brain, or certain Nerves and Spirits, "which, by Laws and Communications of God's "appointing, influence the whole Body. So that "he does not suppose the Soul to be in every Joint "or Limb affected; but, as he had before expres- "ed it, *in its proper Sensory*. The how the Soul "sees the Images, to which it is present, he owns, "*We know not.* — Nor is it in the least unintel- "gible or inconsistent, that the Presence of the Soul "is not necessary in order to Sensation, tho' it can "neither *act* nor be *acted* upon, where it is not "*present.* — This may be illustrated to those who "do not yet conceive of it, by the following Simile. "— When you touch an Harpsichord, the ne- "mulous Motions are immediately communicated "from one End of the Strings to another; — and "yet it is only one End of them that the Quills "strike. In like manner, might not a living and "perceptive Being, though at the remote End of "the Strings, be full as sensible of their Motion, as "if placed just where the Motion began? Nor are

"our

" our Nerves, the Inſtruments of our ſeveral Senſa-
" tions, improperly compared to theſe Strings:
" And do not they all terminate in, and communi-
" cate with the Brain? —— Let us now therefore
" ſuppoſe, that the Brain is the Senſory of the *Soul*,
" and that the Soul is a living and perceptive Sub-
" ſtance: It neceſſarily follows, that the Soul muſt
" be as ſenſible of what affects the moſt diſtant Part
" of the Body, as if it was immediately preſent to
" that Part itſelf. For, being preſent to its own
" proper Senſory, which has a Communication with
" the whole nervous Syſtem, it muſt be preſent to
" all the Images of Things, and to all the Sounds
" which are there formed; and muſt likewiſe there
" perceive, whatever can diſturb or injure the very
" remoteſt Parts. So that notwithſtanding the Soul
" be not every where preſent, and cannot imme-
" diately act, where it is not; yet by the Aſſiſtance
" of the Nerves, it is capable of influencing the
" whole Body, and of being mutually influenced
" by that."

If this were the Caſe, *Cebes* thinks " we ſhould
" apprehend all our Pain to be in that very Place,
" where the Soul is imagined to be immediately
" preſent; and where, by means of that Preſence,
" the Senſation actually commences, rather than
" feel ſuch Pain in the particular Part injured;
" where the Soul is not ſuppoſed to be preſent, nor
" conſequently any *Senſation* formed." *Phædo* judges, on the other hand, that this is no more neceſſary with reſpect to the Senſations of Feeling or Hearing, than to thoſe of Sight. " Viſible Objects, it is cer-
" tain, do not appear to be in *that Place* where the
" Soul is preſent, and diſcerns them; but at very
" different Diſtances from us, according to their
" ſeveral Situations. So that as Objects, at leaſt
" *ſeem* to be, not *where* the Images of them are
" perceived by the Soul; but in the *very Place*,

" from

" from whence the Rays of Light were first reflected " from such Objects: In like wise, we are not sen- " sible of the Pain of a wounded Limb, in that " Part where the Sensation must begin by the imme- " diate Presence of the Soul; but only there, " where the Nerves or animal Spirits were first put " in Motion.

The second Dialogue contains nothing that appears deserving of any very particular Notice. There are in it two or three just Animadversions on a Writer that had very little to support his Reputation, but the Dignity of his Station, and who has taken the Liberty of abusing an Author whose every Page is preferable to his Volumes.

In the third Dialogue (where the Opinion of the *Magi*, with respect to their two Principles, is considered, as also the ancient Notion of tutelar Deities, and *Plutarch*'s Account of what appeared to *Brutus*) we have nothing of any Consequence. At the Beginning of it, Mr. *Hobbes*'s Notion about the Cause of the vulgar Imaginations concerning Spirits is examined. Mr. *Perronet* then makes some Remarks on Dr. *Cudworth*'s Representation of the Doctrine of the *Magi*, concerning *Arimanius*, which he does not approve, and offers one of his own, as more agreeable to the Truth of the Case. *Plutarch*, Dr. *Prideaux*, *Hyde*, and Dr. *Thomas Burnet*, are called in for determining the Controversy. In another Part of this Dialogue, where the Existence and Designation of tutelary Deities, or guardian Angels, as Christians have termed them, is discussed, our Author's Dispute is with a learned Foreigner, *Balthasar Bekker*, who wrote a judicious Treatise, intitled, *Le Monde enchanté*, to explode the common Prejudices about Witchcraft; wherein he supposes God to be the sole Agent in the providential Administration of the World, and rejects the Belief of inferior ministring Spirits, either good or



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evil, being appointed by the Almighty, to intermeddle with the Affairs of Mankind. Our Author, on the contrary, seems to be perſuaded of the Reality of theſe. His Argument for them is this, in his own Words; "Is it unlikely there ſhould "be amongſt all the Works of God, any Rank of "Beings of ſuperior Dignity to Man? Shall we "ſuppoſe, that the human Soul is the higheſt of all "created Spirits; and conſequently, at the upper "end of the whole Creation? —— It will be fur"ther allowed, that let Creatures be of never ſo "high a Rank, it is not abſolutely impoſſible, but "they may deviate from the great Law of their "Being. For, as all *moral* Agents *muſt* have *Li*"*berty*, ſo Liberty may be abuſed. And conſe"quently, according to their Behaviour they will "neceſſarily be denominated either *good* or *bad*. —— "There is ſurely no doubt to be made, but the Al"mighty *can* cheriſh and enlighten the whole Uni"verſe, and provide for all the Wants and Neceſ"ſities of every Creature, by his bare Decree only. "However, this hinders not, but he brings about "the wiſe Diſpenſations of his ſacred Providence, "by ſecond and inferior Cauſes; by the Miniſtry "and Agency of various and ſubordinate Inſtru"ments." And therefore if this does not derogate from the Power of God, how can the executing any other Part of his Divine Will, tho' by *invi*ſible Agents, or *ſuperior* Beings, appear to leſſen his Omnipotence? [as is the Objection commonly urged.] It is not indeed to be ſuppoſed, that the Almighty makes uſe of his Creatures, becauſe he ſtands in need of their Service; but only becauſe it may be perfectly ſuitable to the State and Circumſtances they are in. And ſurely, to uſe every Being according to the true Nature of it, is highly conſiſtent, not only with the infinite *Power*, but alſo with the infinite *Wiſdom* of God.

Whether

Whether the Reader will be satisfied by this Reasoning, or think it worth reciting, either for the Matter or Form, is what I cannot determine. At the latter End of this Dialogue Mr. *Perronet* is an Advocate for Apparitions; and pleads strenuously for the Truth of that which *Plutarch* reports to have appeared to *Brutus*, on the Night before the Battle of *Philippi*.

In the last Dialogue, where our Author endeavours to shew, how far the Influence of an *invisible* evil Being may be admitted, without any *impious* or *absurd* Consequences; he, in the first place, sets down the Opinions of Sir *Thomas Brown*, Dr. *Cudworth*, M. *Bayle*, *Grotius*, and Dr. *Thomas Burnet*, upon this Head; all which Great Men have said somewhat that seems to countenance the Existence of such a malignant Spirit, and his being permitted to delude Mankind. With these he heartily concurs, as to this Point. *Bekker*, on the contrary, has some Passages in his Book aforenamed, which have a very plausible Appearance on the other Side of the Question: These our Author quotes; and takes some Pains to obviate and refute them.

*Bekker*'s Reasoning against the Influence of such a malevolent and mischievous Being as we are now treating of, is no Disproof of the Existence of such a one; it is levelled only against its Agency in certain Cases, as Oracles, Enchantments, and the like: But an Objection may be made to its very Existence; which Mr. *Perronet* accordingly proposes in the Person of *Cebes*, and answers in that of *Phædo*. Thus *Cebes* is made to say: "It will be "allowed, that that *Idea* can have no Foundation "in Nature, which is expressly contradictory to the "Being of a God, or any of his Divine Attributes: "But the Idea of a Devil is such an Idea. For "this evil Being is acknowledged to have Power, "—— and it is owned that the Creator foresaw,

" when he formed him, and gave him this Power, " what Uſe he would make of it; we are far then " from conſulting the Honour of God, when we " affirm he created ſuch a Monſter to reſiſt him; " and who, at beſt, muſt be quite uſeleſs. This is " ſurely, to ſpeak the ſofteſt of it, to *create in* " *vain*; which is very inconſiſtent with all our " Ideas of an *All-wiſe* Being." Now to this *Phædo*, or Mr. *Perronet*, replies,

" That an *All-wiſe* Being can do nothing *in* " *vain*, is readily granted. But it does not follow, " that every thing is *in vain*, the Reaſon or Uſe " of which we are not able to diſcover: For cer- " tainly the Uſefulneſs or Neceſſity of any thing " cannot depend on our *Ignorance* or *Knowledge*. — " An honeſt Huſbandman, who finds his Barns de- " ſtroyed by the Lightning, and his Corn by the " Hail, is perhaps at a great loſs for the *Reaſon* or " *Neceſſity* of either. And even ſuppoſing the whole " World to be as ignorant as this Man, yet there " would be juſt the *ſame Reaſons* for theſe things " as there are at preſent. —— As to the other Part " of the Objection, it is indeed, by no means, con- " ſulting for the Honour of God, to imagine he " ever created any Being, *with a Deſign* that ſuch " Being ſhould *reſiſt* him. But where is the Incon- " ſiſtency, that an infinitely wiſe and good God " ſhould create *innumerable* Beings, endued with " *Freedom*, and conſequently *capable* of abuſing that " Freedom? —— Is not this evidently the Caſe of " Mankind? Did not the Almighty foreſee what " Uſe they would make of their *Liberty*? or is it " any Reflection on his Goodneſs, or Wiſdom, " that, foreſeeing they would pervert it, he yet put " it in their Power to do it? If this be no Reflec- " tion on thoſe Attributes, how comes it to be any " in the Caſe of other Beings? —— Beſides, don't " we daily experience Variety of Temptations from

" the

" the World and our own Hearts? Do these any " way impeach either the Wisdom or Goodness of " God? and would not quarrelling with these be to " quarrel with the present Constitution of Nature? " No less is it so in the other Case, and with as " little Reason."

But *Cebes* further objects, that tho' it be no Impeachment of the Goodness of God, that Man should be tempted, absolutely speaking; yet his being so in a certain Degree, and in certain Circumstances, may. " Suppose a Man has been " tempted twenty times to the Commission of one " particular Sin; and that half these Temptations " proceed from this *Evil Being*, about whom the " Question now is: has not the Man, upon this " Supposition, suffered just as much more as he " would have done, had there been no such " Tempter?"

Upon this *Phædo* asks, " Whether a Man who has " had twenty Fits of the Stone and Gout, has not " suffered twenty times as much as if there had been " none of these Disorders? and whether there be any " thing here to find fault with?" *Cebes*, on the other side, owns that there is not. But then he would have *Phædo* observe, " that the Danger arising " from the severest Distemper, is not to be com- " pared with that, which we suppose must arise " from so *dreadful* a Being: And therefore the *Na-* " *ture*, as well as *Number* of our Sufferings, are to " be considered." In a Word, Temptations are such mischievous things to Man, and especially when frequent, that if there were really such a Being as caused them, it must be thought his Power would soon be destroyed by an all-wise and perfectly good God.

For enervating this Objection, and fully vindicating the Divine Perfections, Mr. *Peirce*, in the Person of *Phædo*, answers, that joining Issue with

*Cebes*, and supposing, "that half a Man's Temptations was owing intirely to this Being; and consequently, that without him the Man had escaped them; — yet unless it can be made appear, that the Man was tempted so many several times oftener than was really consistent with the Nature of his State and Condition in this World, and with God's one great and uniform Design in the Government and Disposition of the Whole, — it is impossible to see how these additional Temptations do in the least affect either the Wisdom or Goodness of the Deity. One would really think, that the Number and Nature of our Trials ought in reason to be left to him, who is intimately acquainted with our Make and Frame; and who understands our different Wants and Capacities, much better than we do ourselves. There is surely no doubt to be made, but God Almighty could easily prevent this evil Being, or any other, from injuring the least Part of the Creation; yet who can say, but this might be breaking in upon that great and wise Scheme of Providence, which the Almighty has seen proper to fix? — We cannot certainly pretend to say, but this might be destructive of that exact Order and Connexion of Things, which are altogether worthy of the Wisdom of God. — In short, as long as this Being is not supposed to exercise his Power, but in Subordination to the wise Will of God, and consistently with the Freedom of Man; so long there can lie no reasonable Objection against any one Attribute of the Almighty."

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE XXVII.

LOGARITHMOLOGIA; *or the whole Doctrine of* Logarithms, *Common and Logistical, in Theory and Practice. In three Parts. Part* I. *The Theory of Logarithms; shewing their Nature, Origin, Construction, and Properties, demonstrated in various Methods,* viz. 1. *By Plain Arithmetic.* 2. *By the Logarithmic Curve.* 3. *By Dr.* Halley's *infinite Series.* 4. *By Fluxions.* 5. *By the Properties of the Hyperbola.* 6. *By the Equiangular Spiral.* 7. *By a Logarithmic Inspectional Scale of twenty-two Inches Length. With the Construction of the Artificial Lines of Numbers, Sines, and Tangents. Also the Nature and Construction of Logistical Logarithms. The whole illustrated and made easy by many and suitable Examples. Part* II. *The Praxis of Logarithms; wherein all the Rules and Operations of Logarithmical Arithmetic, both Common and Logistical, by Numbers and Instruments, are copiously exemplified. Together with the Application thereof to the several Branches of Mathematical Learning. Part* III. *A three-fold Canon of Logarithms, in a new and more compendious Method than any extant;* viz. 1. *A Canon of Logarithms of Natural Numbers.* 2. *A Canon of Logarithms of Sines and Tangents.* 3. *A Table of Logistical Logarithms. The whole being* a compleat Syſtem *of this most useful Art; and enriched with all the Im-*

*provements therein from its Original to the present Time. By* BENJAMIN MARTIN, *Author of the* Philosophical Library of Literary Arts and Sciences, *&c.* London: *Printed for* J. Hodges, *at the* Looking-glass *on* London-Bridge. 1740. Octavo.

THOUGH Logarithms may justly be esteemed the *principal Invention* of *modern Ages*, on account of their excellent and most extensive Use in Mathematical Literature; yet, our Author says, it may with equal Truth be asserted, that little more is known of them, generally speaking, than their practical Use in some Rules of common Arithmetic and Trigonometrical Calculation. For the sake of such Persons this Treatise is chiefly intended, wherein Mr. *Martin* tells us, they will find every thing relating to the Theory and Practice of this admirable Art.

For as to the Theory (the principal Part, and so very rarely known) he has exhibited all the Methods, whereby it has been taught and explained by the Inventor, and several Improvers thereof since his Time; as by the *Exponents of Ratio*; by the *Logarithmic Curve*, from Dr. *Keil*; by an *infinite Series*, from Dr. *Halley*; by the *Method of Fluxions*, from Mr. *Dixon*; by the *Hyperbola*, from Mr. *Denby*; by the *equiangular Spiral*, from *Halley*, *Wallis*, &c. by the large *Logarithmic Scale* of his own constructing, the like to which last for Largeness was never before published.

By all these various Methods he has endeavoured to explain, illustrate, and facilitate the Knowledge of the Nature, Properties, and Construction of the excellent Numbers called *Logarithms*. He has also exemplified the Manner of making *Logarithms* for the *prime Numbers*, by many and different Examples,

the whole, in general Ways; and has taken all poſſible Care to render this moſt abſtruſe and difficult Part, as eaſy and intelligible, as the Nature of the Subject will admit.

When he has thus explained the Nature of Logarithms, he then ſhews how they are laid on Inſtruments; and thereby gives us the Conſtruction of the artificial Lines of *Numbers*, *Sines* and *Tangents*, both contrived by the famous Gunter, Mr. Gunter, of *Gresham College*.

Laſtly, he has largely illuſtrated the Uſes, and ſhewn the Manner of making and conſtructing the Logiſtical Logarithms, according to *Speidell*'s and *Newton*'s Form thereof; and which he does not apprehend to have been done by any other Hand.

Theſe things together will, he hopes, be allowed to make a regular, uniform, and complete Theory of *Logarithms*, (Common and Logiſtical,) for Integers and Fractions, numerical and ſurdmeral, and ſuch as, for Brevity, yet Copiouſneſs and Variety, has not been before extant.

With regard to the Uſes of the *Logarithms*, which makes the ſecond Part of this Work, he aſſures us he has made it as complete as poſſible; having illuſtrated all the Rules of Practice with all the Variety of Examples he could deviſe, that were neceſſary. And that none may be diſappointed of the moſt extenſive Service of *Logarithms* in the Mathematical Diſciplines, he has applied them to the Arithmetic of all Kinds of Numbers; to *Trigonometry*, in the Solution of all Caſes of plain and ſpherical Triangles; to *Mercator*'s Sailing particularly, ſhewing how all its Caſes may be reſolved ſolely by the Canon of *Logarithmic Tangents*; to the Menſuration of Superficies and Solids, &c. all which are fundamental Operations, and may each of them be extended or branched out into particular Sciences. But all this would have been too tedious a Talk, and

not

not absolutely necessary to his Design, he has therefore only applied the Doctrine of Mensuration to the Arts of Gauging, Timber-measure, and Surveying; because they are the most common and necessary Arts in Life; and because the Use of *Gunter's Scale* and *Sliding rule* (though before fully taught, and all along applied, yet) in them is more extensive and various than in any other Arts. And therefore he has taken care not only to shew all the different Ways of using those Instruments, but likewise the *Rationale* of every Operation; a Matter of the greatest Importance, and too often neglected in Books which treat thereof.

In the last Chapter he has given a Variety of Examples of the Use of *Logistical Logarithms* in the practical Parts of Astronomy, both with respect to Time and Motion; has made it appear, that *Street's Logistical Logarithms* answer all the Ends of *Shaw's*; and shews how they are to be used along with the common Logarithms, Sines, and Tangents. And throughout this second Part, as well as the first, Mr. *Martin* assures us, we shall find a great Variety of new and useful Particulars, not here to be expressed.

The third Part of this Work, as Mr. *Martin* further informs us, consists of a threefold Canon of Logarithms; *viz.* 1. Of common Numbers, from 1 to 10,000; and is sufficient for any Number under 10,000,000, by proper Rules. 2. Of Sines and Tangents to every Degree and Minute of the Quadrant. 3. Of Logistical Logarithms of Mr. *Street's* Form. Concerning which Tables he notes two things in general; *viz.* First, that they are here contrived in a new and most compendious Form, equally easy and useful as those of the common Form; only in this they take but one half the Room as they do in that: An Abbreviation, as he tells us, very commodious, and he hopes will prove acceptable.

acceptable. Secondly, The Correctness of these, if we take his Word for it, is a Matter of the last Concern, and the greatest Argument to recommend them. To prove their Accuracy, he lets us understand, that he made his, every Figure of the two first Tables, with his own Hand, from Mr. *Sherwin*'s large Tables, which are granted to be the most accurate of any extant; in doing which, he discovered several Errors, here and there, as he went along in them, as exact as they were; which accordingly correcting in his, he can, he presumes, justly pronounce them the most certain and exact, as well as the most compendious of any in Being.

## ARTICLE XXVIII.

PAMELA; *or Virtue rewarded. In a Series of familiar Letters from a beautiful young Damsel to her Parents. Now first published, in order to cultivate the Principles of* VIRTUE *and* RELIGION *in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes. In two Volumes.* Duodecimo. London; *Printed for* C. Rivington, *in* St. Paul's Church-yard; *and* J. Osborn, *in* Pater-noster-Row. 1741.

THIS Work is said in the Title-page to be a Narrative which has its Foundation in Truth and Nature; and at the same time that it agreeably entertains, by a Variety of curious and affecting Incidents, is entirely divested of all those Images which in too many Pieces, calculated for Amusement only, tend to inflame the Minds they should inform. The Editor, in a Preface to the first Volume, expatiates still more in its Praise.

"If,

" If, says he, to divert and entertain, and at the " same time to instruct, and improve the Minds " of the Youth of both Sexes; if to inculcate " Religion and Morality, in so easy and agreeable " a manner, as shall render them equally delight- " ful and profitable to the younger Class of Read- " ers, as well as worthy of the Attention of Persons " of mature Years and Understandings; if to set " forth in the most exemplary Lights, the Paren- " tal, the Filial, and the Social Duties, and that " from low, to high Life; if to paint Vice in its " proper Colours, to make it deservedly odious, " and to set Virtue in its own amiable Light, to " make it truly lovely; if to draw Characters justly, " and to support them equally; if to raise a " Distress from natural Causes, and to excite Com- " passion from proper Motives; if to teach the " Man of Fortune how to use it, the Man of Pas- " sion how to subdue it, and the Man of Intrigue " how, gracefully, and with Honour to himself, " to reclaim; if to give particular Examples, wor- " thy to be followed in the most critical and affect- " ing Cases, by the modest Virgin, the chaste " Bride, and the obliging Wife; if to effect all " these good Ends, in so probable, so natural, so " lively a manner, as shall engage the Passions of " every sensible Reader, and strongly interest them " in the edifying Story, and all without raising a " single Idea throughout the whole, that shall " shock the exactest Purity, even in those tender " Instances where the exactest Purity would be most " apprehensive: If these (embellished with a great " Variety of entertaining Incidents) be laudable or " worthy Recommendations of any Work, the " Editor of the following Letters, which have their " Foundation in Truth and Nature, ventures to " assert, that all these desirable Ends are contained " in these Sheets: And as he is therefore confident

" of

" of the favourable Reception which he boldly be-
" speaks for this little Work, he thinks any fur-
" ther Apology for it unnecessary.

After this Preface of the Editor's, we have two Letters addressed to him, still highly in Commendation of this Performance. The Writer of the first says, it has Advantages and Excellencies peculiar to itself: "For, besides the beautiful Simplicity of "the Style, and a happy Propriety and Clearness "of Expression, — the several Passions of the "Mind are therein most affectingly described, "and Nature may be traced in her undisguised In-"clinations with the greatest Propriety and Exact-"ness." He adds, "— It will infallibly be "looked upon as the hitherto much wanted Stand-"ard or Pattern for this kind of Writing. For it "abounds with lively Images and Pictures; with "Incidents natural, surprising, and perfectly ad-"apted to the Story; with Circumstances interest-"ing to Persons in common Life, as well as to "those in exalted Stations. The greatest Regard "is every where paid in it to Decency, and to "every Duty of Life: There is a constant Fitness "of the Style to the Persons and Characters de-"scribed; Pleasure and Instruction here always "go hand in hand; Virtue and Vice are set in "constant Opposition, and Religion every where "inculcated in its native Beauty and cheerful Ami-"ableness. — As it borrows none of its Excellen-"cies from the romantic Flights of unnatural Fan-"cy, its being founded in Truth and Nature, and "built upon Experience, will be a lasting Recom-"mendation to the Discerning and Judicious; "while the agreeable Variety of Occurrences and "Characters, in which it abounds, will not fail to "engage the Attention of the gay and more "sprightly Readers."

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The Writer of the second Epistle is as liberal of his Applauses as the foregoing. He says, this Relation "is written with the Spirit of Truth and agreeable Simplicity, which, tho' much wanted, is seldom found in those Pieces which are calculated for the Entertainment and Instruction of the Publick. It carries Conviction in every Part of it, and the Incidents are so natural and interesting, that one goes hand in hand, and sympathizes with the pretty Heroine in all her Sufferings. In short, the whole is so affecting, that there is no reading it without uncommon Concern and Emotion. As to Instruction and Morality, it is full of both. It shews Virtue in the strongest Light, and renders the Practice of it amiable and lovely." With many other Encomiums.

The Subject of this Series of Letters may be summed up in the following Terms. PAMELA, a Girl of mean but honest and virtuous Parentage, is taken into the Service of a pious Lady of an honourable Family, by whom she is greatly beloved, on account of the Beauty of her Person, the Excellency of her Genius, and the admirable Perfections of her Mind; and under whose Care and Tuition all her fine Talents are cultivated and improved to the utmost. But the Decease of this generous Mistress and Benefactress, she is recommended with her dying Breath to the tender Regard and Patronage of her only Son, who inherited the noble Estate of his Ancestors. This young Gentleman pretends a mighty Concern for this destitute Orphan, as we may now call her, on account only of his Mother's Bequest, altho' at the same time, as too soon it appeared, he was deeply enamoured of her. The Violence of his Passion prompts him to all the Methods he could essay for deluding and ruining this charming

charming Innocent. She is at first greatly delighted with her Master's extraordinary Favours, with which he strove to insinuate himself into her Affections. But being cautioned by her Father, to whom she imparts an Account of them, to beware of some latent Poison under those sweet Potions, she presently sees into his wicked Designs, and sets herself resolvedly to oppose and escape them. His Contrivances and Attempts, on the one hand, with her Repulses, Evasions, and Deliverances, on the other, furnish a Variety of Circumstances and Incidents that are very instructive, and at the same time extremely moving and entertaining.

The same may be said of the Sequel of the Subject. When *Pamela* has triumphed over so many Attacks of her wicked Master, as she has yet Reason to deem him, and thinks her Vexations at an end, by his dismissing her his Service, and sending her to her poor but honest and dearly beloved Parents, according to her reiterated Request, she has yet new and more grievous Trials to undergo. For instead of carrying her to her Father's, he gives his Coachman, who was openly ordered to drive her thither, secret Instructions to decoy her to another House of his own across the Country.

There she is committed into the Custody of an old Housekeeper, of a very barbarous and yet more vicious Disposition, who is ordered to watch her narrowly, and use her harshly, to see if by that Means she might be brought to accept of a Deliverance from her Confinement and Hardships, at the Expence of her Chastity. From hence she endeavours thrice to escape, but all in vain. After some time her Master comes thither, makes Proposals to her of a very plenteous Settlement, both for herself and her Parents, besides a large Sum of ready Money, Jewels, rich Habits, &c. all with Menaces however, to effect that by Force, if she refuse these Offers, which

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he is recompensing her so complying Chastity, his confirmations of such extravagant Love, is proof against all those Temptations. He that is out of Patience, behaves under authority, and makes some violent Efforts to accomplish his brutish Purpose, to which he is instigated by the abominable Female Jailor. In short, he is happily disappointed by the Agonies and Fits she is thrown into thro' the Terrors of his Approaches. The noble Stand she makes, at length brings him to a due Sense of her uncommon Worth and Excellency, and at the same time of his own Depravity, Barbarity, and Inhumanity. He ascribes those Reflections, all they work in a Intention in his Affections. His sinful Desires are ruled by a pure Love, and the highest Esteem. But here the Pride of his Heart, the Fear of the World's Censure, and of the Resentments of a haughty Sister, conspire to stifle the honourable Sentiments just kindling in his Breast. Hereupon he meditates a sham Marriage, which he had no Doubt of effecting, and thereby evading all the Difficulties that had hitherto thwarted the Accomplishment of his Wishes. The Scene he takes for bringing it to pass is a Church-yard, by the which finds Means of giving Panela Notice of it. This, instead of saving her, had almost prov'd the cause Destruction of her yet-unsull'd Felicity. For her Mother, quickly divining his Views in regard to this Affair, and determining, in spite of all Objections and Obstacles, to make her his lawful Wife, takes an Opportunity the Day of Interchange her Master in his Garden, where she, thinking all was a Friend, receives the Poison'd in such a Manner as gives him the highest Disgust, and confirms his Indignation to such a Degree, that he refuses the Bait, now leaves him forever. Accordingly he orders her Departure, but in such a Way as plainly shows the Conquest she had made of his Heart, charging those who attended her,

the wonder her Meeting, to observe the most profound Respect amongst them. When she could reach her Father's, he dispatches an Express after her, entreating her speedy Return to him, as the greatest Favour she can possibly do him; and hinting that he will not destroy, if she will but chuse to gratify him in this Request, to pursue her Journey. This Message surprises her exceedingly. She does for some time remain in Suspense how to act in so critical a Juncture. At length she resolves upon going back, and accordingly comes her Purpose with the utmost Expedition. He is transported at her Arrival, receives her with the utmost Joy and Tenderness. From this Moment the Scene is entirely changed. As regards her no longer as his Servant, much less as the Opposer of his Will, or the Frustrater of his Revenge, he considers her in an other Light than as the Mistress of his Heart, the Spring of his most joyful Pleasure, and the lawful and avowed Partner of his Bed and of his Fortune. He treats her upon that Footing, and obliges all his Dependants to do the same. Indeed is won by her amiable Example to the Love of Piety and Religion. He imparts her, and by the most genteel, generous and affectionate Conduct towards her, makes her ample Recompence for all the Injuries he had done her. They mutually delight each other, and lead the happiest Course of Life that Mortals can.

These are not all Queen Esther's Incidents in the History of Ahasuerus. The Middle in which we come, makes Knowledge of them very singular. The Narrative of Haman's plotting, and Series of Letters to her Father and Mordecai, justly the most quaint, and their four Inclosures to the Letter about. The Language is most elegantly Oriental, but in several Places sinks to the Vulgar. A confirmed Air of the Heroine will be supposed to

# ARTICLE XXIX.

DR. *Turnbull* has tranſlated into *Engliſh*, from the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, three Diſſertations: One on the Characters of *Auguſtus*, *Horace*, and *Agrippa*, with a Compariſon between his two Miniſters *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*; by the Abbe *de Veriot*: Another on the Gallery of *Verres*; in which many excellent Pieces of ancient Statuary, Sculpture, and Painting are deſcribed; by the Abbe *Fraguier*: A third on the Nature, Origin, and Uſe of Maſks, in theatrical Repreſentations among the Ancients; By M. *Boindin*. They are printed in a Quarto of 146 Pages; publiſhed by *T. Cooper*, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noſter-Row*, 1740.

Dr. *Turnbull* has inſcribed theſe Pieces to Dr. *Mead*, whoſe elegant Taſte and munificent Encouragement of Letters he juſtly celebrates. What induced him to publiſh them in *Engliſh*, was in the firſt place, as he ſays in his Preface, the Opportunity of giving the World, along with the Tranſlation, two very rare Remnants of Antiquity, repreſenting the Subjects of the firſt and third of them. One of theſe, bearing the Portraits of *Auguſtus*, *M. Agrippa*, *Mæcenas*, and not improbably *Horace*,* could not, as he notes, be more ſuitably

* This Print is after an ancient Painting in Dr. *Mead*'s curious and elegant Collection; to which, Mr. *Turnbull* ſays, in one highly valuable Branch of Antiquity, there is none in the World equal: For no where, he adds, even in *Italy*, are there now ſo many well preſerved Pieces of ancient Painting: "Thoſe "which, while they adorned the Palace of the *Maſſimi* at *Rome*, "were juſtly eſteemed amongſt the moſt curious Remains Time "or Barbarity had left undeſtroyed, are now, all of them, "where every *Briton*, who loves the Arts, will rejoice to know "they are placed; being carefully preſerved in a Library, to

"which

suitably placed than before a Discourse on the Characters of these great Personages. The other Print represents *ancient Masks* (the Subject of M. *Boindin*'s Discourse) to render which complete nothing was wanting but such a Plate, and the *Observations on the same Subject* by the Abbé *de Bos*, in his excellent Essay on *Poetry* and *Painting*, which Mr. *Turnbull* has subjoined. This Print is done from a Drawing after an ancient *Bas-relief*, of exquisitely good Taste and Workmanship, taken at *Rome* by one of the best Hands there for copying the Antique, *Camillo Paderni*. This *Bas-relief* was but lately discovered, and was never engraved before; and therefore it must be a very acceptable Present to the Curious; and it sets the Observations and Conjectures of Messr. *Boindin* and *de Bos* on that Subject, beyond all doubt.

The Design of the Dissertation on the Gallery of *Verres*, is not, as Dr. *Turnbull* is at the Trouble of telling us, to celebrate the infamous *Verres*, but the Master-pieces of ancient Art, which his Avarice and Vanity had amassed by Methods diametrically opposite to that generous and humane Temper which is the natural Concomitant of good Taste.

The justly celebrated Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Observations on the *Augustan* Age, and the Characters of *Augustus*, *Marcus Agrippa*, and *Mecenas*, are so agreeable to the Pictures the Abbé *de Vertot* has drawn of them in the first of these Discourses, that Dr. *Turnbull* could not chuse but collect them from the several Parts of his Lordship's Writings where they are scattered, and subjoin them thereto; where they are of Use, not only to illustrate the Abbé *de*

" which that Character is universally acknowledged to be due.
" which *Cicero* gives of one of the best Collections in the World
" at his Time, as what rendered it truly an Honour to its
" Master, *sic ornata, ut Urbi quoque esset Ornamento.*

*Perrot*'s Remarks, but to shew what true Criticism ought to do, and so what important and profound Reflections *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, and other ancient Authors, lead those who read them with Intelligence, and are capable of entering into their Spirit. To do which, he says, "one must not merely be "Master of dead Languages, which it can never "be worth while to learn, if one is to learn nothing "else by them: But one must be very well ac-"quainted with Antiquity and History, with an-"cient Philosophy, with Mankind; and with true "and solid Criticism, which deduces all its Rules "and Maxims from human Nature and the Know-"ledge of the World." The Criticism here spoken of, Mr. *Turnbull* adds, "is of a Kind not to be "met with almost in any of that *stupid Race of* "*voluminous Writers called Commentators on ancient* "*Authors*. If our *Casaubons*, the *Casaubons*, and a "very few more, are excepted, *there is none of the* "*Tribe whom it is not pernicious to have read*. It "is Criticism of a kind sadly wanting in the ordi-"nary Course of what is called *classical Education*: "For which Reason young Gentlemen have no "sooner acquired, with great Drudgery, some "*Greek* and *Roman* Words, than they throw aside "the Authors from whom they would receive an "abundant Reward for all that Toil, *were they* "*but once directed into the right Take, and the pro-*"*fitable Manner of reading them*, which are so charm-"ingly delineated to us by this elegant instructive "Writer [*Shaftesbury*] in his *Advice to an Author*, in "particular." He goes on, "This is so much the "more to be wondered at, that we have had for "some time a System of Notes, in our own Lan-"guage, on *Homer*, (for the Translation is *Homer* "still) that is *a most perfect Model of true and* "*useful Criticism*; and plainly points out to those "who are concerned in the Education of Youth, in

what Channel their Lectures on ancient Authors ought chiefly to run, if they would form or improve a good Taste of them; and instead of giving young Gentlemen a very idle Turn (to say no worse of it) towards merely verbal Criticism, inspire them early with that just Relish for manly Science, and useful Reflections on Men, Manners, and Things, which if Education be not adapted to produce, it is any thing else but what it assumes the Name of.

With relation to our Translator's Part in the Edition of these Dissertations, we have only this thing more to say; That he has inserted the principal Authorities from which the Abbe *de Vertot*'s Characters of *Augustus*, *Marcus Agrippa*, and *Mecenas*, seem to him to be taken, in the Margin, by way of Notes. One pretty large Note, concerning the Education of *Augustus* and *Mecenas*, well, he says, deserves its Place, because it shews us what Notions the Ancients had of truly liberal Education. He has taken the same Care with regard to the Description of *Verres*'s Gallery, having inserted in the Margin the Passages scattered through *Cicero*'s Orations against *Verres*; from which it is fetched. As for M. *Boindin*, he is so full and exact in his References to the Authorities on which he founds his Opinion, that there was nothing more left Mr. *Turnbull* to do, but to add the Observations of M. *de Bos* on the same Subject published afterwards, and the curious Print of the Maskers abovementioned.

The Purchasers of this Miscellany will be pleased to find my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Observations make so considerable a Part of it. I believe the Readers will easily allow, that they are of much greater Value than the Dissertation to which they are annexed; and think themselves obliged to Dr. *Turnbull*,

*hull*, for collecting and digesting them in so advantageous a Manner as he has done.

M. *Fraguier*'s Discourse on the Gallery of *Verres* affords a very agreeable Amusement to those Persons whose Taste inclines to the polite Arts. He observes, The *Romans* had no Notion or Value of these, till *Marcellus*, *Scipio*, *Flaminius*, *Paulus Æmilius*, and *Mummius*, expos'd to their View the noblest Products of them, with which *Syracuse*, *Asia*, *Macedonia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia*, and *Bœotia* were adorned. These were beheld, by a People hitherto barbarous, with the highest Admiration, and they were quickly inflamed with an ardent Love and Desire of the same Luxury and Splendour. They began immediately to vie with one another in embellishing their Country and Town Houses with such exquisite Decorations. They stuck at nothing for that Effect. The Governments of Provinces furnished Occasions to make large Acquisitions of this Sort. But none ever abused this Opportunity in so vile a manner as *Verres*, who commanded in *Sicily*, and who ransacked that noble Country of every thing curious he could lay his Hands upon; as Gold, Silver, Diamonds, Pearls, Statues, Pictures, and fine Moveables of every Kind. Nothing could be more magnificent than his House. His Courts and Gardens were filled with Delicacies. But it is probable the best were placed in his renowned Gallery, far surpassing any of those we read Accounts of every Day with Pleasure.

In describing of this, M. *Fraguier* begins with *Jupiter*, whose Image was one of the greatest Beauties of it. † It represented *Jupiter Ourios*, the Dispenser of favourable Winds. There were but

† Whatever is distinguished by inverted Comma's, is in the very Words of the Author, or Translator rather.

three

" three Statues of this *Jupiter* in the World: One " in the Capitol, where *Quintus Flaminius* had " consecrated it with the other Spoils of *Macedonia*; " one in an ancient Temple on the remotest Point " of the *Thracian Bosphorus*; the third was brought " to *Rome* from *Syracuse* by *Verres*, and placed in " his Gallery. To this *Jupiter*, whom the *Greeks* " called *Ourios*, the *Romans*, without any Regard " to that Surname, gave the Title of *Imperator*. " 'Tis likely that *Flaminius* had consecrated this " precious Fruit of his Victory under that Name, " to give the Honour of his Success in *Macedonia* " to the Protection of the Gods.

" The *Diana* of *Segesta* was no less remarkable. " It was of Brass, a noble, majestick Statue. The " Goddess was veiled after the Manner of the Di- " vinities of the first Order.

*Pedes Vestis defluxit ad imos. Æn. l. 1. v. 409.*

" Her Robe flowed to her Feet; and though this " Statue was bigger than Life, and cloathed with " a most venerable Drapery; yet it had quite the " Air, all the graceful Ease and Agility of a youth- " ful Virgin. Her Arrows hung upon her Should- " der, and she held a Bow in her Right Hand, " and in her Left a burning Torch.—This Statue " had belonged from the most ancient Times to " *Segesta*, a Town in *Sicily* founded by *Æneas*; " and it was not only one of the noblest Ornaments " of that City, but likewise the Object of its so- " lemnest Devotions. The *Carthaginians* had kid- " napped it. But *Scipio* some Ages after, when he " conquered *Carthage*, restored it to the *Segestans*, " who immediately replaced it on its ancient Pedes- " tal, with a new Inscription in Capital Characters, " expressing the Piety and Generosity of *Scipio*. " This *Diana* so much the more deserves our At-

" tention, that no such Image is to be found on
" the Medals of *Segesta*.

" Two Statues of *Ceres* were the two most va-
" luable Rarities *Verres* could find in a rifled king-
" *Sicily*. One of these came from *Catina*, the
" other from *Enna*, two Cities which stamped the
" Head of *Ceres* on their Coins. The former had
" been worshipped for many Ages with great Ad-
" oration in a dark and holy Place, into which no
" Man was allowed to enter. Virgins and Matrons
" were charged with performing there the myste-
" rious Rites of this Goddess. That of *Enna* was
" yet held in greater Veneration. It was a middle-
" sized brass Figure of most extraordinary Work-
" manship. The Goddess held a Torch in one
" Hand, to represent those she had lighted at the
" Flames of Mount *Ætna*, when she went in quest
" of her Daughter whom *Pluto* had ravished. In
" the Year of *Rome* 662, when the Murder of
" *Tiberius Gracchus* had raised a great Consterna-
" tion in the Republick, the *Sibylline* Oracles were
" found to order the appeasing of *Ceres*. And
" Deputies were sent from the College of Priests
" to *Enna*, to worship at the Feet of this Statue,
" who, 'tis said, were struck at the Sight of it
" with no less Awe and holy Reverence, than if
" the Goddess herself had appeared to them.

" *Mercury* indeed was not out of his Place when
" he was set up in the Gallery of *Verres*. It was
" the same *Mercury* to which the *Tyndaritani* of-
" fered an anniversary Sacrifice by their religious
" Laws; a Statue of an immense Value. *Scipio* the
" Conqueror of *Africa*, had generously restored to
" this People this supreme Object of their Adora-
" tion, as the *Caduceus* on their Medals shews *Mer-*
" *cury* to have been.

" *Apollo* was sent back to the People of *Agrigen-*
" *tum* in the same bounteous Manner. This Statue

" stood

stood in their Temple of *Esculapius*. It was
" *Myron*'s Master-piece, and to eternize his Me-
" mory he had engraved his Name on one of its
" Thighs in small Characters; which was ven-
" turing to do what was then absolutely prohibited:
" A circumstance that must have enhanced the
" Value built to the Curious. There was a *Hercu-*
" *les* in this Gallery by the same famous Artist.
" *Verres* had taken it from *C. Heius* at *Messina*,
" whose Household Gods were the greatest Rarities
" in that splendid richly adorned City. From
" hence likewise came his *Cupid* by *Praxiteles*,
" Fellow to that celebrated one, which so many
" travelled to *Thespiæ* on purpose to see. The one
" which *Verres* brought to *Rome* had been there
" before.

" By these Deities were placed *Canephoræ*, which
" bore so great a Part in the Pomp of certain an-
" cient Festivals. At *Athens* young Girls richly
" arrayed, who marched in the solemn Processions,
" carrying Baskets on their Heads filled with Pre-
" sents devoted to the Gods, were called *Canephoræ*.
" Such were these Figures: and their Beauty fully
" answered to the high Reputation of *Polycletes*,
" whose Workmanship they were.

" Let us now cast our Eyes upon the *Aristeus*,
" the *Pean*, and the *Venus*. The *Aristeus* was
" brought from *Syracuse*, where he was worshipped
" in the same Temple with *Bacchus*. He was a
" Demi-god, Son to *Apollo* by the Nymph *Cyrene*.
" His Statue was in the Form of a young Shep-
" herd, his Employments having been wholly rus-
" tic. He taught Men the Use of Milk, Honey,
" and Oil. The *Peon* or *Pean* came from the
" same City, but from a Temple dedicated to
" *Esculapius*, with whom he there shared divine
" Honours. He was Physician to the Gods, and
" the happiest of all Physicians. This austere Fi-

" gure

" gure made an admirable Contraſt to that of " *Ariſteus*. —— As for *Tenes* it came from a greater " Diſtance. *Verres* had laid Hands on it at *Tenedos*. " This Statue had formerly made a Journey to " *Rome*, and was then placed in the *Comitia*, but " it had been reſtored to that City, for the Founder " of which *Tenes* paſſed, and where he was wor- " ſhipped as their tutelar God. —— Some Anti- " quarians flatter themſelves to have found the Head " of this *Tenes* upon a Medal of *Tenedos*, join'd to " that of his Step-mother or Siſter.

" But if this Head on the Coins of *Tenedos* be " doubtful, that of *Sappho* on thoſe of *Mitylene* " her Country is not. For ſingular Merit as a " Poetess had rendered her a Sort of Goddeſs. And " among the Divinities of every Kind which adorned " the Gallery of *Verres*, none was more admired " than a braſs Statue of *Sappho*, by the celebrated " Statuary *Silanion*. Nothing could be more per- " fect. *Verres* had robbed the *Prytaneum* at *Syra- " cuſe* of this wonderful Piece.

—— " Theſe were the principal Statues which " *Cicero* found in the Gallery of *Verres*, when he " went in Quality of his Accuſer to ſeize his Pa- " pers. But *Verres* was poſſeſſed of a great many " more, *Scio*, *Samos*, *Aſpendum*, *Perga*, *Sicily*; " the whole World was pillaged by him. —*Verres* " had depoſited ſeveral Statues with his Friends, and " he had made Preſents to his Protectors to a great " Value. Witneſs the *Sphinx* he gave to *Hortenſius*, " —— of *Corinthian* Braſs, *Hortenſius* was ſo fond " of it, that it was carried along with him where- " ever he went. He could not want it one Mo- " ment out of his Sight; and hence we may judge " of its ſingular Beauty. —— But the rareſt Piece in " this Collection, for it was Unick, and *Verres* " only ſhewed it to particular Favourites, was the " Statue of a Player on the Lyre. ——

" Let

" Let us take a View of some other Curiosities in " the Gallery of *Verres*, which were not the least " precious Part of this Treasure. I put in this " Rank several little Victories, such as we see upon " the Medals in the Hands of the Divinities. And " among others there was a very fine one which " *Verres* had taken out of the Hand of a capital " Statue of *Ceres* at *Enna*. There were some of " Ivory. *Verres* got them in an ancient Temple of " *Juno* upon the Promontory of *Malta*. It is pro- " bably the same *Juno* we see on the *Punic* Medals " of that Island. ——

" A large Vase adorned a splendid Citron-table. " It was the Workmanship of *Boethus* a *Carthagi-* " *nian* Artist. — He excelled in working on Silver, " whence it is probable this Vase was of that Metal. " — But tho' this Vase was very fine, yet that " just by it was much more so, being one precious " Stone adorned with the most curious Workman- " ship. This Piece came from the *East*, and fell " into *Verres*'s Hands, with the rich Candlestick " we shall mention afterwards.

" There was not a House in *Sicily* of any Fashi- " on, — which had not a Service of Silver Plate " for the Worship of its Household-Gods, consist- " ing of *Patera*'s of all Sorts and Sizes, and other " religious Utensils for Offerings, Libations, and " perfuming with Incense and other sacred Rites. " And all these were more valuable for their Work- " manship than for their *Metal*. —— *Verres*, assisted " by two *Greeks*, the one a Painter, the other a " Statuary, who had put themselves under his Pro- " tection, upon flying their Country for infamous " Crimes, had chosen out of those Treasures what- " ever seemed fittest to enrich and adorn his Gallery. " Oval Cups, with Figures embossed, or of curi- " ous inlaid Work, *Corinthian* Vases placed on " Marble Tables, supported by three Feet in the " Form

" Form of *Tripods*, and called on that Account " *Mensæ Delphicæ*.

" One of *Verres*'s Curiosity must have something " of every kind. And accordingly there were in " this Gallery Coats of Mail, Helmets, and Breast- " plates of *Corinthian* Brass, nicely carved, Large " Urns of the same Metal, and no less curiously " wrought, Elephants Teeth of an incredible Size, " upon which were Inscriptions in *Punic* Characters, " bearing that *Masinissa* had sent them back to the " Temple of *Juno* at *Malta*, whence the Com- " mander of his Fleet had carried them off.

" There was every thing in this Gallery, even to " the very Trappings and Equipage of a Horse " that belonged to King *Hieron*; near to which " were upon two Pedestals two little Horses of Sil- " ver, highly esteemed by the Curious.

" The Antique hath a Merit independent of the " Materials. Good Taste in Workmanship and " Antiquity makes its principal Value. The gold- " en Vases, of which *Verres* had a great Quantity, " were modern, but he had made them as beauti- " ful and estimable as most antique ones. For he " had established at *Syracuse*, in the ancient Palace " of the Kings, a Laboratory with all its Utensils, " in which a great Number of excellent Artists for " Design and ornamenting Vases, worked for him " eight Months, and that in Gold only.

" The Excellence of those Artists consisted in " their elegant Taste of Design, and in adjusting " antique Ornaments to modern Vases with such " Dexterity, that one would have thought they had " been originally made for them.

" The Tapestries stood out stiff with Gold: A " Piece of Luxury that came from *Attalus* King of " *Pergamus*. And his other Moveables were no- " thing interior to them in Riches. *Tyrian* Purple " shone from every Corner. *Verres* all the time of " his

" his Government, had kept Manufactures at work in the best Towns in *Sicily* and *Malta*, to make " magnificent Furniture for him.——

" We cannot find out, who those seven and twenty Kings or Tyrants of *Sicily* were, whose Portraits *Verres* stole from the Temple of *Minerva* in *Syracause*, and put up in his Gallery. Among other ancient Pictures of which he had robbed the same Temple, there was one representing a Cavalry Battle of *Agathocles*, that Tyrant of *Sicily*, who raised himself from a Citizen of the lowest Rank, to the Soveraignty of his Country.

" The Porch of *Verres*'s Gallery was richly embellished with historical Paintings, the Spoils of the Temple of *Minerva* at *Syracause*, the most beautiful sumptuous Temple in the World.—— In the Middle was a truly wonderful *Gorgon*'s " Head, and round it were sculptured in Ivory various Fables, to a Degree of Beauty and Perfection beyond Expression.——

" *Verres* had taken from the Gates of this Temple a vast Number of large Nails, the Heads of which were of Gold, and had adorned the Ports of his Gallery with them. There was a fine Statue at each Side of the Gate. They were brought from the Temple of *Juno* at *Samos*. And they were probably the Work of *Theodorus* the *Samian*, who was both Statuary and Painter.——

" This Gallery was enlighted by several magnificent Brass Lustres, but principally by a Candlestick of truly marvellous Workmanship, which two Eastern Princes had destined for the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* at *Rome*. This Temple having been destroyed by Lightning, *Quintus Catulus* rebuilt it with superior Magnificence. And the two Princes only waited till the Temple was quite finished to consecrate their Gift. But in the mean time, he who had the Custody of the Lustre,

" Lustre, happening to pass through *Sicily* in his
" return to *Commagene* in *Syria*, *Verres*, who com-
" manded *Sicily*, heard of it, procured a Sight of
" it, borrowed it and kept it.

Mr. *Fraguier* ends the Dissertation, from which I have extracted these Passages, with obviating any Doubt that might arise in his Auditors of the Justness of his Representations. They might hardly believe the Furniture of *Verres*'s Gallery so exquisitely fine as he describes it. But to satisfy us that he does not exaggerate, he would have us consider, first, That there is no Reason to question the Delicacy of those Pieces, which were the Workmanship of such celebrated Artists as *Myron*, *Boethus*, *Praxiteles*, *Silanion*, and *Polycletes*. And as for the others, concerning the Beauty of which we have only *Cicero*'s Word, it is unreasonable to suppose, he would venture on a false Account of such things as every *Roman* might judge of with his own Eyes. Nor was this illustrious Orator in the least unqualified, as he abundantly shews from his own Writings, to form the most nice and accurate Judgment with respect to Performances of this Nature.

M. BOINDIN's *Discourse on the* MASKS *and* HABITS *used in ancient* Theatres, tho' very curious in its Kind, is on a Subject far less agreeable than that of the foregoing Dissertation of M. *Fraguier*. Nay, in truth, the Masks which he speaks of, were generally ugly, and many of them perfectly shocking Things; I mean to our Imagination. The Persons exhibited by them on the Print prefixed to this Piece, make such an Appearance as would greatly disgust, if not terrify a modern Audience.

M. *Boindin* observes, the Topic he has undertaken is new: " No Person having hitherto han-
" dled it accurately, and to the Bottom. For
" many have mentioned Masks in general, tran-

" siently

" ficently and superficially; but none hath so tho-
" roughly examined the Matter as to set it in a due
" Light, and give us a connected System of this
" Part of Antiquity.

All we have left us, he says, by the Ancients on this Head, is contained in two Chapters of *Pollux*, the 18th and 19th of his fourth Book. But what he says of Masks and Theatrical Habits, not being sufficient to give us an adequate Notion of them, he here endeavours to supply what is wanting in his Account, by laying before us all he has been able to collect upon the Subject from other ancient Authors.† And he promises to advance nothing for which Proofs are not brought from ancient theatrical Pieces.

" As the Ancients had in general three different
" Sorts of scenical Decorations, for their three dif-
" ferent Kinds of Plays, comic, tragic, and satir-
" ic, it was but natural for them to have likewise
" different Habits and Masks for their Actors of
" these three Characters. — Nay, they had a fourth
" Kind for their Musicians and Dancers; and a
" Model of them is yet to be seen on the Reverse
" of a Medal of *Nero*, on which he is represented
" in a theatrical Habit, with a Lyre in his Hand.
" — So that the Ancients had in general theatri-
" cal Habits and Masks of four Kinds, suited to
" their comic, tragic, satiric, and orchestric Re-
" presentations, and so different from one another
" in Form and Character, that the same Actors
" appeared not only different Men, but Men of a
" different Species, according to the Genius of the
" Piece they represented. —

† There seems to be something very like a Contradiction between this and the preceding Period. If all that is left us by the Ancients on this Head be contained in two Chapters of *Pollux*; how shall M. *Boindin* be able to supply his Defects, in relation to it, from other ancient Authors?

Of

*Of the Comic Kind.*

" Though the Habits, in Comedy, for Inſtance, " were not different from thoſe in ordinary Uſe; and " tho' the Maſks uſed in the *ancient Comedy* perfectly " reſembled the Perſons repreſented; yet in the *middle* " *Comedy* they became very different from what they " had formerly been; and in the *new Comedy* there " is not the leaſt Veſtige remaining of their firſt " Form. The Law by which it is prohibited to " mark out particular Perſons to View upon the " Stage, forced them to invent ſuch ridiculous, ab- " ſurd Maſks, as could not be accuſed of bearing " the ſmalleſt Likeneſs to any humrn Face. —

*Of the Tragic Kind.*

" This was carried further in Tragedy, but for " another Reaſon. All the Actors had a gigantic " Air: The enormous Size of their Maſks, toge- " ther with the exceſſive Height of their Buſkins, " and their huge adventitious Bellies, made ſuch an " uncouth Combination of artificial Members, that " the long training Habits peculiar to them, were " really neceſſary to cover it. And all this took its " Riſe from a prevailing Notion, that all the Heroes " of Antiquity, *Tydeus* alone excepted, were of a " preternatural Bulk and Stature.

*Of the Satyric Kind.*

" Now to this Miſapprehenſion of the Grandure " of Heroes, in the ancient Times, were joined " all the other Abſurdities of Fable on the ſatyric " Pieces: For in theſe appeared not only Giants, " and Men of monſtrous Forms, — but likewiſe " *Silenus's*, *Faunus's*, and *Satyrs*. — By conſe- " quence the Habits and Maſks uſed in them muſt " have been of a very particular Sort, and quite " different from all others; but beſides the genetal

" Difference

" Difference between the Masks and Habits, for " Representations of the various Kinds which have " been mentioned, there must have been a very " great Diversity belonging to each different Spe- " cies of them, to distinguish different Ages, Sexes, " and Characters of Personages.

Of this Variety M. *Beindis* gives an Account in the Sequel of this Discourse; premising some- thing of Masks in general (I mean those only of the Theatre) and begins by inquiring into their Origin, Forms, and Uses. Here is an Abstract, containing the Substance of what he has said in reference to this Point.

" Theatrical Masks came into Use in the Time " of *Æschylus*; that is, about the 70th Olympiad. " They were a sort of Head-pieces that covered the " whole Head, and represented not only the Fea- " tures of a Face, but the Beard, Ears, Hair, and " even all the Ornaments in a Woman's Head- " dress. ——We must not however imagine, that " they had always the same Form; for it is certain " they were very gradually brought to their Per- " fection. All Writers agree, that at first they " were very imperfect. At first the Actors only " disguised themselves by bedaubing their Faces " with the Lees of Wine. —— They continued af- " terwards to make a sort of Masks with the Leaves " of the *Arcion*. —— In fine, after Dramatic Poetry " was become compleat in all its Parts, the Neces- " sity the Actors found of imagining some Way of " changing their Figure and Mien in an Instant, " in order to represent Personages of different Ages " and Characters, put them on contriving the " Masks we are now speaking of. ——

" We cannot precisely determine by whom this " Kind of Masks was invented; yet the Names of " those are preferred to us, who first introduced " any particular Kind of them upon the Theatre.

"It was, for Inſtance, as *Suidas* informs us, the Poet *Phrynicus* who firſt brought a female Maſk into Uſe; and *Neoptolemus* of *Sicyon* firſt introduced one for that Kind of Domeſtic among the Ancients, who was charged with the Care of their Children. It was *Æſchylus* who firſt dared to bring upon the Stage drunken Perſonages in his *Nacæpor*: And it was an Actor of *Megara*, called *Maiſon*, who invented the comic Maſks for a *Valet* and a *Cook*. — *Æſchylus* introduced the Uſe of hideous frightful Maſks in his *Eumenides*; but it was *Euripides* who firſt adventured to add Serpents to them. Maſks were not always made of the ſame Materials. The firſt were of the Barks of Trees. — Afterwards ſome were made of Leather lined with Linen or ſome Stuff. But theſe Maſks being eaſily ſpoiled, they came at laſt to make them wholly of Wood, and they were formed by Sculptors according to the Ideas of the Poet."

This is the Sum of what M. *Boindin* has been able to diſcover concerning the Origin of Maſks, and their Make in general. But in order to know their Uſe or Neceſſity, we are to conſider the different Sorts of them in particular. This is a Matter about which he lets us know it is not eaſy to gain entire Satisfaction. I have here ſet down ſome Paſſages of what he has ſaid relating thereto.

"*Pollux* only diſtinguiſhes three Sorts, the comic, tragic, and ſatyric; and in his Deſcription he gives to each Kind as much Deformity as it was poſſibly ſuſceptible of. — But there being upon very ancient Monuments, Maſks of a quite oppoſite Form and Character, that is to ſay, which have natural and agreeable Faces, and nothing like that large gaping Mouth which renders others ſo frightful, the Learned are very much divided to what Claſs we ſhould refer them.

"them. Some imagine them to be Masks of the "ancient Comedy. — But as there must have been "some Opening in the first Masks, to give Vent "to the Voice of the Actors, and these in Question "have none; there seems to be no Ground for "this Opinion. Others, struck by this Particula-"rity, have fancied they are not Masks, but Re-"presentations of real Heads, being persuaded "there were no theatrical Masks without an open "Mouth. But this is the very Thing in Question; "and besides, these Heads have this distinguishing "Characteristick of Masks, the having no Neck. "——There is a third Sentiment about them, "which allows them to be Masks, but will not al-"low them to be antique; because they have not "the Character they imagine essential to theatrical "Masks, namely, the wide opening Mouths they "see in others. But since the Bas-reliefs and "engraved Stones upon which these Masks are "found, have all the Marks of the best Antiqui-"ty, this Opinion appears to be no better founded "than the two former.

"But if we reflect on the one hand, that some "Authors speak of a fourth Sort of Masks, —— "those of the *Dancers*; and if we consider, on "the other hand, that in such Masks there was no "Occasion for that large Overture which rendered "the others so deformed, — there is Cause to think "the Masks in Question were of this fourth Kind.

"There is a Passage of *Lucian*, quoted by "M. *Boindin*, which, as he apprehends, leaves not "the least room to doubt of this Matter. It is in "his *Dialogue on Dancing*, where, after having "spoken of the Ugliness of other Masks, and of "that wide Mouth in particular common to them "all, he tells us, that those of the Dancers were "of a quite different Make, and had none of "these Deformities. —— It is therefore unquestion-

" ably to this Claſs, that we muſt refer the Maſks
" now under our Conſideration. And we can no
" longer doubt, that there was, beſides the three
" Kinds mentioned by *Pollux*, a fourth, which
" they called *Orcheſtric*, and ſometimes mute
" Maſks.

" But this is not the only Omiſſion *Pollux* may
" be reproached with upon the Subject of Maſks.
" Even of thoſe which he mentions, there are three
" Sorts he hath not diſtinguiſhed, which had how-
" ever their different Denominations, προσωπειον,
" μορμολυκειον, γοργονειον. For though thoſe
" Names were in Proceſs of Time uſed to ſignify,
" promiſcuouſly, all Sorts of Maſks, yet it is pro-
" bable that the *Greeks* firſt employed them to diſ-
" tinguiſh three different Kinds. ——

" The firſt and more common Sort were thoſe
" which repreſented real Life, and they were pro-
" perly denominated προσωπειον. The two other
" Sorts were not ſo common; and hence it was
" that the Term προσωπειον being more uſed, be-
" came the general Name for them all. One
" Sort repreſented the Shades; and being frequently
" employed in Tragedy, and having ſomething
" frightful in their Appearance, the *Greeks* called
" them μορμολυκειον. The laſt Kind were con-
" trived on purpoſe to terrify, and only repreſented
" horrible Figures, ſuch as *Gorgons* and *Furies*;
" when they had the Name of γοργονειον. ——

There are ſeveral other Particulars relating to this Subject, in the Sequel of this Diſſertation, worthy of the Reader's Attention, which I have not Room to give any Specimen of.

THE

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# THE INDEX.


A

Abernethy (*Mr.* John) *Specimens of his Discourses on the Being and Natural Perfections of God*, 350—371
Actors (*on the Roman Stage*) *some Particulars concerning them*, 409
Ammianus Marcellinus, *some Particulars in relation to him*, 132
Ancients (*Philosophers and Legislators*) *an Attempt to prove their Belief of future Rewards and Punishments*, 282
Anthony, *an Account of him, as an Orator*, 269
Apion, *a few Particulars relating to him*, 118
Apollo, *his Statue described*, 446
Aristeus, *an Account of him*, 447
Arts (*polite*) *when first cultivated by the* Romans, 444
Atheism, *an Instance of its Absurdity*, 366
Aurelius Victor, *a short Account of him*, 132

C

Cæsar (Julius) *his Character, as a Writer*, 127
Camera Obscura, *the Advantages of this delightful Instrument*, 208—215. *Cautions to be observed in the Construction and Using of it*, 209
Canephoræ, *an Account of them*, 447
Cardan, *some Reflections on him*, 85
Cassini (*Mr.*) *a Synopsis of his Elements of Astronomy*, 170




Digitized by Google

Cato, *mentioned as an Orator*, 258
Ceres, *two Statues of her described*, 446
Cicero, *some Particulars relating to him as an Orator*, 272
Cities (*devoted*) *the Law relating to them explained*, 150—155
Clement (*of* Alexandria) *the Books of Scripture own'd or not received by him*, 222. *A critical Inquiry relating to his Treatment of the earliest ecclesiastical Writings*, Canonical *and* Apocryphal, ibid. *His Notion of the* Sibyls *and* Sibylline *Verses*, 224
Cohesion (*of the Particles of Bodies*) *Considerations thereon*, 248
Coins (Roman) *an Account of them*, 400
Conflagration (*of the Earth*) *described*, 65. *The Grounds whereon our Expectation of this tremendous Event is founded*, 170—173
Cotta, *his Style commended*, 271
Crassus, *a Character of his Eloquence*, 270
Criticism, *some Reflections thereupon*, 442
Ctesias, *some Particulars concerning him*, 111
Cyropædia (*of* Xenophon) *a Dissertation thereupon*, 327—360

D

DEity (*the Doctrine of*) *explanatory of the System of the Universe*, 361
Demetrius Phalareus, *recorded as the Corruptor of the Greek Eloquence*, 267
Devil, *Objections against his Existence, with their Answers*, 425—429
Diana (*of* Segesta) *described*, 445
Diodorus Siculus, *an Account of him, and his History*, 114
Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *his Memoirs, with the Character of his Writings*, 116
Dinarchus, *mentioned as an Orator*, 256



Digitized by Google

E

EAgles (Roman) *the Veneration in which they were held*, 406
Earth (*the*) *Tokens of its ruinous Condition*, 48
Epicurus, *his Character*, 32
Epistle (*to the Hebrews*) *a Testimony of its being wrote by St. Paul*, 221
Eternity (*of God*) *demonstrated*, 362—366. *The most proper Conception we can form of it*, 364. *Inferences from it*, 367—371
Eutropius, *mentioned*, 133

F

FALL (*of Mankind*) *Proofs of it*, 48—60
Forbes (*Dr.*) *an Account of his Collection of State Papers*, 19—25
Force (*projectile, of the Planets*) *considered*, 256
Freethinker (The Christian) *a short View of a Treatise so entitled*, 26—37
Freethinkers, *discouraged*, 36
Freethinking, *the Nonsense of it*, 28, 29. *Its Inconsistency*, 29—32

G

GLadiators (Roman) *divers Particulars relating to them*, 413
Gorboduc, *Remarks on some supposed Errors of a late Edition of it*, 2—12
Gospel, *an Inquiry whether it has discovered any new Doctrine of Morality, which Reason does not dictate*, 193
—— *Of St.* Mark, *the Occasion of its being written*, 220. *Its Authority own'd by St.* Clement *of* Alexandria, ibid.
Gravitation (*of Bodies to the Center of the Earth*) *the Reasons of it assigned*, 239. (*Of the Planets towards their Centers*) *the Cause of it investigated*, 250.

Digitized by Google

250. *Proved to be the Effect of Design*, 257. *Not the Action of Matter*, ibid. *But of an immaterial Cause*, 258.

H

HEathens, *their moral Principles before the Time of our Saviour*, 189—193. *The Way whereby they acquired them set forth*, 197—201.
Herodotus, *a brief Account of him*, 104. *The superior Merit of his History*, 107.
History, *its primitive State among the Romans*, 122, 123
Hyperides, *his Style commended*, 265. *His unhappy Catastrophe*, 266.

I

INoculation, *the* Chinese *and* Turkish *Methods thereof*, 309. *Two Queries relating to this Operation*, 310.
Intelligence (*of the supreme Being*) *argued from the animal Life*, 351—356. *From the intellectual Powers of the human Nature*, ibid.
Johnson (Samuel) *an Account of his Sermons*, 61—78
Josephus, *an Account of him and his Writings*, 118
Isæus, *some Particulars relating to him*, 265
Isocrates, *an Account of him*, 262
Jupiter Ourios, *mentioned*, 444
Justin, *his Character, as a Writer*, 132

L

LÆlius, *an Instance of his Integrity* 269
La Motte (*Dr.* Charles) *his Dissertations, on St.* Paul's *Appeal to* Cæsar, 79—96: *On the Name of* Chrestus *in* Suetonius, 313—327.
Lardner (*Mr.* Nathaniel) *an Account of the second Part of the second Volume of his* Credibility of the Gospel-History, 219—234. *His Opinion concern-*

Digitized by Google

*concerning the ſuppoſitious Writings of the ſecond Century*, 231. *And of the* Sibylline *Oracles*, 233
Latium (*the Right of*) *an Illuſtration of it*, 398
Livy, *an Account of him and his Writings*, 124
Logarithms, *a Synopſis of Mr.* Martin's *Treatiſe concerning them*, 429—433
Lucian, *his Miſrepreſentation of the* Jews *and* Chriſtians, 325
Lucius Florus, *briefly characteriſed*, 131
Lucretius, *the Aim and Purport of his Writings*, 28. *His Character*, 34.
Lycurgus, *an excellent Orator and Magiſtrate*, 265
Lyſias, *characteriſed*, 261

M

MAN, *his original State and Circumſtances*, 46
Matho, *a Synopſis of the firſt Volume of a Work ſo entitled*, 213—259. *Specimens of the Author's Style and Reaſoning*, 239—259.
Matter, *Activity aſcribed to it*, 417. *In what Senſe it is ſaid to be inactive*, ibid. *Why deemed lifeleſs*, 419.
Mead (*Dr.*) *his Library celebrated*, 440
Mercury, Verres's *Statue of him mentioned*, 446
Microſcopes, *the beſt ſort of them ſpecified*, 215
Mind (*human*) *a Plan towards a compleat Theory of it*, 173—189
Muſick (*of the ancient* Romans) *the Nature of it*, 409

O

ORatory, *its priſtine State among the* Greeks, 259. *The golden Age of it aſſigned*, 266. *The Cauſe of its Declenſion*, ibid. *Its Revival in ſome of the ancient Fathers*, 267. *Its Condition in the early Times of the* Romans, 268. *The ſecond Period of it among that People*, 269. *Its higheſt Elevation*, 271. *Its Declenſion*, 273.
Opticks, *a noble and delightful Science*, 202. *An Account of Mr.* Martin's *Treatiſe thereon*, 204-207.
Pamela,

Digitized by Google

P

PAmela, *an Account of a sort of Novel under that Title*, 433
Paterculus, *characterised, as an Author*, 127
Paul (*St.*) *an Instance of his Policy*, 324
Peon, *an Account of him*, 447
Perceptions, *Considerations relating to them*, 418
Pericles, *the first Improver of Eloquence among the Greeks*, 260
Perronet, *an Abstract of his Inquiries*, 416—418
Petronius Arbiter, *his Character*, 34
Philo, *briefly mentioned*, 118
Planets, *the Causes of their Revolution investigated*, 250—258
Pliny (*the Younger*) *his Memoirs and Character*, 274—281
Plutarch, *a Character of him and of his Works*, 120
Polybius, *an Account of him and his Writings*, 111
Præfectus Prætorio, *the Functions and Prerogatives of that Officer*, 399
Precedency (*of the* Irish *Peers in* England) *discussed*, 157—169
Priestcraft, *its Definition*, 26. *Its Origin*, 27

Q

QUeries, *relating to Mankind, as a fallen recoverable Creature*, 43—46. *A Resolution of the first of them*, 48—60

R

REason, *some Reflections on its Usefulness in leading us to God*, 39
Resurrection (*of the Body*) *proved to be the* Epocha *of the perfect Happiness of good Men*, 73—78
Revelation, *some Reflections relating thereto*, 40. *Objections to it, with their respective Confutations*, 133—155
Revenue (*of the* Roman *State*) *specified*, 493
Rollin (*M.*) *an Abstract of his Memoirs of the ancient*

Digitized by Google

*cient Historians*, 104—133. *Of the ancient Orators*, 259—281

Romans, *an Account of their Manners and Customs*, 371. *Their ancient Polity*, 372. *Their different Orders and Degrees*, 373—375. *Their Customs with respect to Names*, 376. *Their Methods of Writing*, 377. *Their Habits at several Times*, 378. *The Structure and Furniture of their Houses, in the earlier and later Ages*, 379. *Their Abilities in Sculpture and Statuary*, 382. *Their Chronology*, 383. *Their Measures and Weights*, 384. *Their Immunities*, 390. *Their Nuptial Ceremonies*, 392. *Their Form of Government during an Interregnum*, 295. *Their Funeral Ceremonies*, 410.

S

Sacrifices (*human*) *falsly attributed to the* Jewish *Dispensation*, 146—150

Salluſt, *his Character*, 123

Sappho, *a Statue of her celebrated*, 448

Seneca, *cenſured as the Depraver of the* Roman *Eloquence*, 273

Serapion (*Biſhop of* Antioch) *a conſiderable Work of his mentioned*, 225. *Three Remarks on a Fragment of it*, ibid.

Slaves, *the* Roman *Laws and Practice relating to them*, 385—390

Small-pox, *an Account of Dr.* Hillary's *Practical Eſſay thereon*, 298—311

——— *unknown to the Ancients*, 299. *Indigenous to* Arabia, ibid. *A brief Inquiry into its Origin*, 303—310

Soul, *an Objection againſt its Immateriality*, 421. *Anſwered*, ibid. *A Difficulty relating to this Point removed*, 422.

Spherules, *their magnifying Powers computed*, 286. *The Principle upon which the ſaid Computation is founded*,

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*founded*, 218. *The Methods of forming* Spherules 217
Spirits (miniſtring) *Arguments for their Exiſtence*, 424
Subſtance (*immaterial*) *how to acquire an Idea of it*, 417
Suetonius, *Some Circumſtances of his Life*, 131. *A Character of his Writings*, ibid.
Sulpitius, *mentioned as an Orator*, 271
Sun (*the*) *one Reaſon for its vaſt Magnitude*, 255. *An univerſal Argument, proving it to be the Center of our Syſtem*, 255.
Superſtition, *its Definition*, 26. *Its Derivation*, 27
Sykes (*Dr.*) *an Abſtract of Part of his Connection of Natural and Revealed Religion*, 133—156. 189—201

T.

TAcitus, *an Account of him, as an Hiſtorian*, 128. *Branded as a Blunderer*, 326
Talbot (*Lord*) *an Introduction to his Life*, 97—103
Tenes, *his Statue mentioned*, 448
Tertullian, *divers Paſſages relating to him*, 226—231. *The Valuableneſs of his Teſtimony to the Scriptures of the New Teſtament*, 230
Thinking, *the genuine Ends of it ſpecified*, 27
Thucydides, *a ſhort Account of him*, 105. *A Compariſon between him and* Herodotus, 107
Turnbull (*Dr.*) *an Account of his Tranſlation of three Diſſertations*, 440

U

UNchangeableneſs (*of* God) *demonſtrated*, 366

W

WAtts (*Dr.* Iſaac) *an Account of a Treatiſe attributed to him, on the Ruin and Recovery of Mankind*, 37—60

X

XEnophon, *ſome Particulars relating to him*, 110

FINIS.

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